

# **Federal Bureau of Investigation**

## **Freedom of Information- Privacy Acts Section Office of Public and Congressional Affairs**



**Subject: Pedro Albizu Campos  
File Number: 105-11898  
Section V**

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

DATE: 4-30-47

FROM : SAC, San Juan

SUBJECT: PEDRO ALBIZU CAMPOS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - N

1-1  
1-4

Reference is made to the report of Special Agent ALFRED B. NOVAK dated April 28, 1947 at New York, in which the title of the case is shown as changed.

Principally for the information of Agents working on this case in the New York Office, this is to advise that according to Spanish usage prevalent in Puerto Rico, the correct surname of this individual is ALBIZU. In Puerto Rico this man is known as ALBIZU or as ALBIZU CAMPOS, never as CAMPOS. It may be that in New York this man may be referred to as CAMPO, in ignorance of the fact that this is the maiden name of his mother, and which follows the surname of his father, by way of further identification. When persons of Spanish usage drop the second "apellido" (mother's maiden name) they are then known by their father's surname. In this case it would be simply Mr. PEDRO ALBIZU.

ACS:GEH  
100-3906  
cc-New York (100-47403)

4-1-47

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/21/81 BY 2842 PMV/BJS/24

171

62-71

EX-10

C.R.

# F.B.I. TELETYPE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Egan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gurnea \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Pennington \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

DECODED COPY

CONF WASH AND SAN JUAN 35 FROM NEW YORK 9 11-00 P  
DIRECTOR AND SAC URGENT

b2, b7D NATIONALIST PARTY OF PUERTO RICO. ISN. FORMER ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
NATIONAL DEFENSE INFORMANT [REDACTED] HAS ADVISED THAT TWO MEMBERS  
OF THE MANHATTAM JUNTA OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION WHOSE NAMES WERE  
UNKNOWN TO HIM SOLICITED FROM HIM A CONTRIBUTION OF TWENTY-FIVE  
DOLLARS TO HELP PAY FOR THE TRANSPORTATION OF PEDRO ALBIZU CAMPOS,  
PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONALIST PARTY FROM NEW YORK CITY TO SAN JUAN.  
INFORMANT WAS TOLD THAT CAMPOS WAS LEAVING NEW YORK CITY THURSDAY,  
DECEMBER 11 BY PAN AMERICAN AIRWAYS SYSTEM BUT HE COULD NOT DET-  
ERMINED WHETHER DEPARTURE WAS FOR PERMANENT RESIDENCE IN PUERTO  
RICO. PAN AMERICAN HAS NO RECORD OF ANY RESERVATION IN NAME OF  
CAMPOS ON ANY FLIGHT TO PUERTO RICO FOR NEXT SEVEN DAYS. BUREAU  
AND SAN JUAN WILL BE ADVISED IF DEFINITE DEPARTURE DATE OF CAMPOS  
CAN BE SECURED. SAN JUAN REQUESTED TO ATTEMPT TO OBTAIN THRO-  
UGH INFORMANTS WHETHER THERE IS ANY INDICATION THAT CAMPOS IS  
EXPECTED TO RETURN TO PUERTO RICO IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE.

CLASS. 5/21/81  
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW 5/21/91  
2842 P.M. (BTD) (SCHEIDT)

(NYC R 35 WA)

(RELAYED TO SAN JUAN)

(RECEIVED

12-10-47

12-04 AM

TOM

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

If the intelligence contained in the above message is to be disseminated  
outside the Bureau, it is suggested that it be suitably paraphrased in  
order to protect the Bureau's coding systems.

CONFIDENTIAL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

F.B.I. TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
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Mr. Egan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gurnea \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Pennington \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

DECODED COPY (u)

CONF WASH AND SAN JUAN FROM NEW YORK 37 12 11-55 P

DIRECTOR URGENT (u)

67C  
LOCAL ST PARTY OF PUERTO RICO, IS N. REUYTEL OF DECEMBER 12, 1951, ADVISING OF DEPARTURE OF PEDRO ALBIZU CAMPOS AND COMPANION, LUIS CARLO TORO. OFFICIAL OF BULL LINES HAS ADVISED THE HE OVERHEARD A CONVERSATION AN UNIDENTIFIED PUERTO RICAN TO THE EFFECT THAT TORO HAD ARRANGED FOR [REDACTED] TO PUERTO RICO VIA PORTO RICO EXPRESS COMPANY. IT IS NOT KNOWN WHETHER TORO HAS LICENSE TO SHIP SAME OR FOR WHAT PURPOSE THESE WERE BEING SENT TO PUERTO RICO. NO RECORD YET LOCATED OF ALLEGED [REDACTED] FURTHER CHECKS BEING MADE. BUREAU AND SAN JUAN WILL BE ADVISED. (u)

[SCHEIDT] (u)

[RECEIVED 12-13-47

12-14 PM EST

TON (u)

[REPLAYED TO SAN JUAN] (u)

[UNDERLINED PORTION OMITTED FROM MESSAGE] (u)

5/21/81  
CLASS. & EXT. BY 2842 PMV/BTD/20  
REASON-FCIM 11, 2-2.4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW 5/21/81

SA4 BJA-MLB

173

If the intelligence contained in the above message is to be disseminated outside the Bureau, it is suggested that it be suitably paraphrased in order to protect the Bureau's coding systems. (u)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

5/21/81  
CLASS. & EXT. BY 2842 PWT/BTS/245  
REASON FOR EXT. 1-5.2.2  
DATE OF REVIEW 5/21/91

**F.B.I. TELETYPE**

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
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Mr. Egan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gurnea \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Pennington \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

SP4B3A-MCB

4-19-00

DECODED COPY

CONF WASH AND SAN JUAN FROM NEW YORK 36 12 11-45 P  
DIRECTOR AND SAC URGENT

RE NATIONALIST PARTY OF PUERTO RICO. INTERNAL SECURITY - N.  
REMYTEL DECEMBER 9 LAST. PEDRO ALBIZN CAMPOS DEPARTED FROM NYC  
1-50 A. M. TODAY ABOARD SS KATHRYN OF BULL LINES, DUE SAN JUAN  
MONDAY FORENOON, DECEMBER 15. CAMPOS IN CABIN 4, PORT SIDE AFT  
BOAT DECK. CAMPOS IS MULATTO, 56 YEARS, 5 FEET 6 INCHES, 140  
POUNDS, SLIM BUILD, BROWN EYES, BUSHY WAVY BLACK HAIR STREAKED  
WITH GRAY, BLACK MUSTACHE, WEARING DARK GRAY SUIT, NAVY BLUE  
OVERCOAT, GRAY FELT HAT, BLACK SHOES. ALSO IN CABIN 4 IS ANGEL  
CARLO TORO, WHITE 37 YEARS, 5 FEET 6 INCHES, 1-30 POUNDS, SLIM  
BUILD, BLACK HAIR, THIN BLACK MUSTACHE. TORO ARRANGED PASSAGE  
FOR CAMPOS, SAYING HE WAS LATTER-S NEPHEW AND THAT CAMPOS COULD  
TRAVEL ONLY BY BOAT ON ACCOUNT OF HIS HEALTH. TO INSURE PASSAGE  
FOR BOTH ON SAME BOAT IF SHORTAGE OF SPACE EXISTED, TORO OFFERED  
TO PAY PLANE PASSAGE FOR ANY PASSENGER INCONVENIENCED BY BOOKING  
CAMPOS AND TORO TOGETHER. TORO HAS MADE 3 OR 4 TRIPS TO NYC IN  
PAST 4 MONTHS APPARENTLY TO PURCHASE NEW GENERAL MOTORS CARS FOR  
SHIPMENT TO PUERTO RICO. SHIP CARRYING 1947 BUICK SEDAN CON-  
SIGNED TO TORO. TORO PAID FOR BOTH ONE WAY TICKETS WITH CHECK ON  
BANK OF PONCE, CABO ROJO, PUERTO RICO. NO RECORD TORO THIS OFFICE.  
CAMPOS BAGGAGE CONSISTED OF LARGE SUITCASE, PAPER WRAPPED PACKAGE,  
EMPTY STEAMER TRUNK, AND BLACK WARDROBE TRUNK, WHICH CAMPOS INSISTED  
BE BROUGHT TO HIS CABIN. HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL AND RELIABLY SOURCE  
ADVISED THAT WARDROBE TRUNK CONTAINED IN ADDITION TO CLOTHES, FOUR  
LARGE REDDISH BROWN ENVELOPES, CONTAINING PRINCIPALLY PAMPHLETS,  
PUBLICATIONS AND DOCUMENTS OF THE TRUSTEESHIP COMMITTEE OF U.N.  
CAMPOS AND TORO ACCOMPANIED TO SHIP BY RAMON MEDINA RAMIREZ, DEL-  
EGATE OF NATIONALIST PARTY TO U.S. AFTER BOARDING SHIP AT 3 PM,  
DECEMBER 11, CAMPOS HAD NUMEROUS VISITORS IN CABIN, CONSISTING  
MAINLY OF SHIPS CREW MEMBERS. SAN JUAN REQUESTED TO VERIFY CAMPOS  
ARRIVAL AND AS SOON AS INFORMATION CAN BE DETERMINED, ADVISE WHETHER  
CAMPOS TAKING UP PERMANENT RESIDENCE IN PUERTO RICO.

SCHEIDT

RECEIVED 12-12-47 11-54 PM EST TOM RELAYED SAN JUAN  
if the intelligence contained in the above message is to be disseminated  
outside the Bureau, it is suggested that it be suitably paraphrased in  
order to protect the Bureau's coding systems.

CONFIDENTIAL

Assistant Attorney General T. Vincent Quinn  
Criminal Division  
Director, FBI

December 16, 1947

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: MIGRANT PARTY OF PUERTO RICO  
INTERNAL SECURITY - R

SP4BJA-WLB

4-19-00

advised

I thought you would be interested in the following information which has been furnished by our New York Office regarding the above-captioned matter.

It was confidentially ascertained by the New York Office that two members of the Manhattan Junta of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico solicited a contribution of \$25 from an individual to assist in paying for the transportation of Pedro Campos Campos from New York City to San Juan, Campos, who is the President of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico, was originally scheduled to depart New York December 11, 1947, by Pan American Airways. However, the New York Office subsequently informed that Campos departed New York at 1:30 A. M. December 12 aboard the SS Katarzyn of the Bull Lines. This vessel was scheduled to arrive in San Juan, December 15, 1947. It was reported that Campos was occupying Cabin 4 on the "port side aft, port deck" (S/10)

Campos is described as follows:

CLASS. & EXT. BY 2842 Pmv/BW/US  
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW 5/22/91

Race	Mulatto
Age	56
Height	5' 6"
Weight	140 pounds
Build	Slim
Eyes	Brown
Hair	Bushy, wavy, black, streaked with gray
Peculiarities	Black mustache.

Campos was accompanied by Angel Carlo Toro who likewise occupied Cabin 4. Toro is described as follows:

Race	White
Age	37
Height	5' 6"
Weight	135 pounds
Build	Slim
Hair	Black
Peculiarities	Thin black mustache.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/1/81 BY 1043

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. E. A. Tamm  
Mr. Clegg  
Mr. Glavin  
Mr. Ladd  
Mr. Nichols  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Tracy  
Mr. Carson  
Mr. Egan  
Mr. Gurnea  
Mr. Harbo  
Mr. Hendon  
Mr. Pennington  
Mr. Quinn  
Mr. Nease  
Miss Gandy

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED~~

DATE 5/21/81 BY 2842 Pmv/BW/US

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

It was ascertained that Toro arranged passage aboard this vessel for Campos alleging that he was the nephew of Campos and that Campos could travel only by boat because of his health. It was determined that Toro, in order to insure passage for both he and Campos aboard this vessel, offered to pay plane passage for any passenger inconvenienced by booking Campos and himself together.

The New York Office further informed that Toro has made three or four trips to New York within the past four months, apparently to purchase new General Motors automobiles for shipment to Puerto Rico. It is known that the vessel on which they were traveling was carrying a 1947 Buick sedan which was consigned to Toro. Toro purchased the one-way tickets for Campos and himself with a check drawn on the Bank of Ponce, Cabo Rojo, Puerto Rico.

It was very confidentially ascertained that Campos' baggage consisted of a large suitcase, a paper-wrapped package, an empty steamer trunk, and a black wardrobe trunk which Campos insisted be placed in his cabin. An extremely confidential and reliable source informed that the wardrobe trunk contained in addition to clothes, four reddish-brown envelopes, containing principally pamphlets, publications and documents of the Trusteeship Committee of the United Nations.

Campos and Toro were accompanied to the vessel by Ramon Medina Ramirez, delegate of the Nationalist Party to the United States. Subsequent to boarding the vessel at 3:00 P. M. on December 11, Campos received numerous visitors in his cabin, consisting primarily of the ship's crew members.

The files of this Bureau fail to disclose any information relating to Angel Carlo Toro. The files do disclose, however, that Angel Luis Toro was reported to have been previously associated [REDACTED] b7C in San Juan, Puerto Rico, and he was formerly President of the Municipal Committee of the Communist Party in Puerto Rico. It is not possible from the information presently available to determine if Angel Carlo Toro is identical with Angel Luis Toro.

The San Juan Office of this Bureau is determining whether or not Campos contemplates taking up permanent residence in Puerto Rico. I shall promptly advise you of any additional information regarding either Campos or the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico that comes to my attention.

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
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Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Egan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gurnea \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Jones \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

- 2 -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

December 16, 1947

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
BY SPECIAL MESSAGE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The Honorable  
The Secretary of the Interior  
Washington, D. C.

DECLASSIFIED BY SP4BJA-MLB  
4-14-88  
admin

RE: NATIONALIST PARTY OF PUERTO RICO  
INTERNAL SECURITY - N

My dear Mr. Secretary:

I thought you would be interested in the following information which has been furnished by our New York Office regarding the above-captioned matter.

It was confidentially ascertained by the New York Office that two members of the Manhattan Junta of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico solicited a contribution of \$5 from an individual to assist in paying for the transportation of Pedro Albizu Campos from New York City to San Juan. Campos, who is the President of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico, was originally scheduled to depart New York, December 11, 1947, by Pan American Airways. However, the New York Office subsequently informed that Campos departed New York at 1:50 A. M. December 12 aboard the SS Kathryn of the Bull Lines. This vessel was scheduled to arrive in San Juan, December 15, 1947. It was reported that Campos was occupying Cabin 4 on the "port side aft, boat deck" (S) (u)

Campos is described as follows:

Face	Mulatto
Age	56
Height	5' 6"
Weight	140 pounds
Build	Slim
Eyes	Brown
Hair	Bushy, wavy, black, streaked with gray
Facial features	Black moustache.

Campos was accompanied by Angel Carlo Toro who likewise identified himself as follows:

Name	Angel Carlo Toro
Age	37
Height	5' 6"
Weight	130 pounds

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED~~

DATE 5/21/81 BY 2842 Pm/DTJ/ru

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

5/20/81  
CLASS. & EXT. BY 2842 Pm/DTJ/ru  
REASON-FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW 12/1/91

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. E. A. Tamm  
Mr. Clegg  
Mr. Glavin  
Mr. Ladd  
Mr. Nichols  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Tracy  
Mr. Egan  
Mr. Gurnea  
Mr. Harbo  
Mr. Mohr  
Mr. Pennington  
Mr. Quinn Tamm  
Tele. Room  
Mr. Nease  
Miss Gandy

KW:GAS

RECEIVED READING ROOM  
DEC 16 3 48 PM '47

RECEIVED READING ROOM  
DEC 15 3 33 PM '47



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Build  
Hair  
Peculiarities

Skin  
Black  
Thin black moustache.

It was ascertained that Toro arranged passage aboard this vessel for Campos alleging that he was the nephew of Campos and that Campos could travel only by boat because of his health. It was determined that Toro, in order to insure passage for both Campos and himself aboard this vessel, offered to pay plane passage for any passenger inconvenienced by booking Campos and himself together.

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The San Juan Office of this Bureau is determining whether or not Campos contemplates taking up permanent residence in Puerto Rico. I shall promptly advise you of any additional information regarding either Campos or the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico that comes to my attention.

Sincerely yours,

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
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Mr. Egan \_\_\_\_\_  
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Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Pennington \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Assistant Attorney General F. Vincent Quinn  
Criminal Division

December 20, 1947

Director, FBI

RECORDED

NATIONALIST PARTY OF PUERTO RICO;  
INTERNAL SECURITY - N

176

Please refer to my memorandum to you dated May 29, 1947, and to the several previous reports furnished in this case.

Information has been received that Pedro Albizu Campos, President of the Nationalist Party, arrived in San Juan, Puerto Rico, December 15, 1947 from New York. He was met upon arrival by the leaders of the Nationalist, Communist, and Independence Parties of Puerto Rico. A crowd of several thousands met him at the dock, the crowd including an honor guard of forty black-shirted "cadets of the liberating army" under the command of "Colonel" Raimundo Diaz Pacheco. Later at a mass rally of the Nationalists, Communists and Independentists, Albizu condemned (1) United States Navy expropriation of the land at Vieques, Puerto Rico, and warned of further expropriation by the United States Navy; (2) teaching of English in Puerto Rican schools; (3) application of the Selective Service Act to Puerto Rico, and claimed that now is the hour of decision and action, not words.

There is no present indication that Albizu intends to return to New York.

When further information and details are received you will be advised.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/21/81 BY 2842 PMV/BTJ/RS

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
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Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Pennington \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gandy \_\_\_\_\_



Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Coffey \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
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 Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Pennington \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
 Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

# F.B.I. RADIOGRAM

CLASS. & EXT. BY 2242 PM/20/24  
 REASON-FOUO II. 2  
 DATE OF REVIEW 5/2/97

DECODED COPY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FROM SAN JUAN 12-16-47 NR 162030 4:41 PM

DIRECTOR AND SAC NEW YORK

PEDRO ALBIZU CAMPOS, IS - N. SUBJECT ARRIVED SAN JUAN FIFTEENTH INSTANT. WAS GREETED BY LEADERS OF NATIONALIST, COMMUNIST AND INDEPENDENCE PARTIES OF PUERTO RICO. CROWD OF SEVERAL THOUSANDS MET HIM AT DOCK INCLUDING AN HONOR GUARD OF 40 BLACK-SHIRTED QUOTE CADETS OF THE LIBERATING ARMY UNQUOTE UNDER THE COMMAND OF QUOTE COLONEL UNQUOTE RAIMUNDO DIAZ RACHECO. LATER AT MASS RALLY OF NATIONALISTS, COMMUNISTS AND INDEPENDENTISTS SUBJECT CONDEMNED (1) US NAVY EXPROPRIATION OF LAND AT VIEQUES, PUERTO RICO AND WARNED OF FURTHER EXPROPRIATION BY NAVY, (2) TEACHING OF ENGLISH IN PUERTO RICO SCHOOLS, (3) APPLICATION OF SELECTIVE SERVICE ACT TO PUERTO RICO, AND PROCLAIMED THAT NOW WAS THE HOUR OF DECISION AND ACTION NOT WORDS. NO PRESENT INDICATION SUBJECT INTENDS TO RETURN TO NEW YORK. LETTER FOLLOWS. (C)(U)

RECEIVED: 12-16-47 5:04 PM MW (C)(U)

THIS MESSAGE WAS SENT TO NEW YORK BY TELETYPE (C)(U)

176

SP4BJA-MB

admin. 4-19-a

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

If the intelligence contained in the above message is to be disseminated outside the Bureau, it is suggested that it be suitably paraphrased in order to protect the Bureau's cryptographic systems. (C)(U)

SAC, San Juan

January 10, 1948

John Edgar Hoover, Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

Pedro Albizu Campos  
Internal Security - R

REGISTERED MAIL

Reference is made to your letter dated December 17, 1947, transmitting one 100 foot reel of film pertaining to the above captioned matter.

In accordance with your request, one enlargement has been made of each exposure requested and the prints are being forwarded together with the negatives to your office herewith.

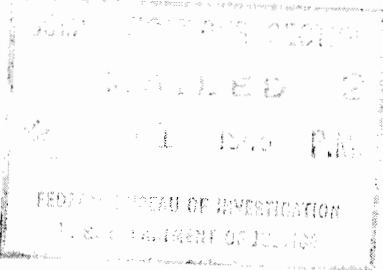
Enclosure

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/21/81 BY 2842 P POUV/STJ/NW

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
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Mr. Egan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gurnea \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Pennington \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

RCR:HWP



JAN 12 9 51 AM '48  
RECEIVED

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 12-17-47

FROM: SAC, SAN JUAN

ATTENTION: PHOTOGRAPHIC LABORATORYSUBJECT: PEDRO ALBIZU CAMPOS  
Internal Security - H

Enclosed herewith one exposed reel 100 foot length motion pictures taken by ASAC Jack West of the arrival in San Juan of Subject on December 15, 1947.

It is requested that the negatives be developed as soon as possible and that one 6 by 8 inch "still" be made of each of the black-shirted individuals appearing in the film. These individuals are members of the "Cadet Corps of the Liberating Army" which is part of Puerto Rico's Nationalist Party organization. The uniform of the Cadet Corps is as follows: Black shirt with white tau cross on left sleeve; black four-in-hand tie; black oversize cap (except the officer's cap which has a black bill and white top); white trousers; black belt and shoes.

JW/mmd

Enclosure

AMSD

Return Receipt Requested

100-3906

RECEIVED  
INDEXED  
13 JAN 14 1948

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/21/81 BY 2842 PMV/ETJ/RS

H. Pool

JAN 10 1948

H. Pool

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

DATE: December 18, 1947

FROM: SAC, New York

SUBJECT: NATIONALIST PARTY OF PUERTO RICO  
INTERNAL SECURITY - N

Enclosed is a translation of a news item appearing on page 2, column 1 of the Spanish language daily newspaper "La Prensa" of December 17, 1947 describing the demonstration staged by members of subject organization on the occasion of the return to Puerto Rico of PEDRO ALBIZU CAMPOS, President of the Nationalist Party.

Also enclosed is a clipping from the New York Times of December 18, concerning an incident attendant upon CAMPOS' return.

Enclosure

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIEDcc: San Juan (enclosure)  
NY 100-47403

DATE 5/21/81

BY 2842 PMV/BTD/RLS

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LA PRENSA  
12/17/47  
Page 2, column 1

ALBIZU CAMPOS RECEIVED WITH JUBILATION IN PUERTO RICO

San Juan, P.R., Dec. 16. (UP)

Five thousand enthusiastic Puerto Ricans met on the wharves of San Juan to greet the Nationalist leader, Mr. Pedro Albizu Campos. He was returning from the United States where he served ten years in prison for conspiring to overthrow the local government.

When he landed, Albizu Campos told his followers that he "had forgiven his enemies". The rejoicing Nationalists formed a procession behind Albizu Campos, as he proceeded from the landing place to a church where a Te Deum was celebrated.

Translator: Sophia Saliba

ENCLOSURE

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DATE 3/21/81 BY 2842 PSM/STG/RB

RECORDED

84108

34 DEC 20 1947

# PENALIZED IN FLAG CASE

## 3 Students Suspended at the University of Puerto Rico

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

SAN JUAN, P. R., Dec. 17—Chancellor Jaime Benitez of the University of Puerto Rico today announced the indefinite suspension of three ringleaders of the Nationalist group who lowered the American flag from Franklin Roosevelt Tower at the university and raised the Nationalist one-star banner. He will recommend ex-

pulsion of the three, one of whom is president of the student body.

University authorities are investigating the participation of thirty others in the demonstration which marked the return of Pedro Albizu Campos, Nationalist leader, after serving a term in Atlanta Penitentiary for conspiracy to overthrow the Government by force.

## Molotov Back in Moscow

MOSCOW, Dec. 17 (AP)—Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov returned by plane today from the Big Four Foreign Ministers' Conference in London.

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DATE 5/21/81 BY 2842 BTJ/RLS

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ENCLOSURE

"

Series "

12-18-47 p. 22 CA 4

FORWARDED BY N.Y. DIVISION



December 20, 1947

17  
The Honorable  
The Secretary of Interior  
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Secretary:

My memorandum to you of May 29, 1947 concerning the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico, furnished some information on the activities of this Party and Pedro Albizu Campos, President. I feel that you may also be interested in the following.

Information has been received that Pedro Albizu Campos, President of the Nationalist Party, arrived in San Juan, Puerto Rico, December 15, 1947 from New York. He was greeted upon arrival by the leaders of the Nationalist, Communist and Independence Parties of Puerto Rico. A crowd of several thousands met him at the dock, the crowd including an honor guard of forty black-shirted "cadets of the liberating army" under the command of "Colonel" Raimundo Diaz Pacheco. Later at a mass rally of the Nationalists, Communists and Independentists, Albizu condemned (1) United States Navy expropriation of the land at Vieques, Puerto Rico, and warned of further expropriation by the United States Navy; (2) teaching of English in Puerto Rican schools; (3) application of the Selective Service Act to Puerto Rico, and claimed that now is the hour of decision and action, not words.

There is no present indication that Albizu intends to return to New York.

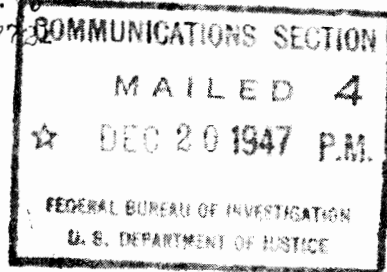
When further information and details are received you will be advised.

Sincerely yours, / 105-1151 179

RECORDED

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

100-7722



Tolson  
E. A. Tamm  
Clegg  
Glavin  
Ladd  
Nichols  
Rosen  
Tracy  
Egan  
Gurnea  
Harbo  
Mohr  
Pennington  
Quinn Tamm  
Tele. Room  
Mr. Nease  
Miss Gandy

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/21/81 BY 2842

100-187512

Director, FBI

1-2-48

SAC, San Juan

PEDRO ALBIZU CAMPOS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - R

Recently Colonel SALVADOR T. ROIG, Chief of the Puerto Rico Insular Police, conferred with me regarding the current situation in respect to PEDRO ALBIZU CAMPOS and the possibility of a recurrence of the activities in which ALBIZU engaged some ten years ago resulting in his conviction for attempting to overthrow the government of the United States by force.

Colonel ROIG advised me that he has conferred with Governor PIÑERO and with MUÑOZ MARIN, President of the Insular Senate and Chief of the major political party in Puerto Rico, and both have declared that they will aggressively oppose ALBIZU and his policies, and are determined to prevent any reactivation of the Nationalist Party terrorist policies or revolutionary tactics. To this end Colonel ROIG states that he has instructed all of the Chiefs of Police in the ten zones to immediately report any gathering of Nationalists and any activity of Nationalists individually or in groups. A special squad of picked detectives is being formed for the purpose of maintaining constant coverage of ALBIZU and his activities, and those of his followers. Because of the only slightly veiled threats that ALBIZU has already expressed against MUÑOZ MARIN and other individuals, additional police protection is being afforded to MUÑOZ and steps will be taken also to provide protection as needed for such individuals as former Federal District Judge ROBERT COOPER, now residing in San Juan, and Insular Supreme Court Justice A. CECIL SNYDER, who was the U. S. Attorney prosecuting ALBIZU, at the time of his conviction.

Colonel ROIG states that he has anticipated the possibility of violence and is instructing police officers in methods of dealing with groups or mobs in such cases. He stated he has ordered additional supplies of tear gas. His plan of action is to instruct the police officers, when dealing with a mob, to attempt to exercise reason vocally and if this fails the officer in charge will fire a shot into the air and, if this fails, tear gas will be used; if that fails and circumstances require, police will use their guns. (I am not in accord with this method of procedure but did not at the time of the conference offer any criticism of the methods, particularly that of having the officer fire a shot into the air. I feel this is very undesirable; however, I have discussed this matter with ASAC JACK WEST, who is to be liaison officer, and who is supervising for this office the Nationalist Party activities, and suggested that in due time effort be made to dissuade the use of such methods.)

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DATE 5/21/81

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ORIGINAL FILED IN 62-7721-1509

Letter to Director from San Juan, 1-2-48

As soon as an officer is elected to head the squad of detectives referred to above close and continual liaison will be established with this officer and with ASAC JACK WEST in this office in order that there may be a constant and complete exchange of information. It is the plan of the Insular Police Squad (many of whom will be men who served on the internal security squad working with this office during the war) to maintain surveillances, record the utterances of ALFIZU and otherwise keep him and his followers under constant control.

I expressed to Colonel ROIG my concurrence in the attitude displayed and stated that this office would of course cooperate in any way possible, but would leave the situation entirely in the hands of the local authorities until and unless federal statutes were violated and it became necessary for us to take formal action. ROIG stated that the governor planned to have a conference with Army, Navy, FBI, Insular Police, and the Insular Department of Justice officials sometime soon. I suggested that such a meeting be held in the utmost confidence if possible, since publicity concerning the purpose of such a meeting would not be advisable.

Subsequently, I also conferred with United States Attorney PHILIP HERRICK informing him that we were aware of our responsibility concerning ALFIZU and were taking such steps as we considered necessary and advisable to keep fully informed of all pertinent activities and to in turn inform the appropriate authorities, including the United States Attorney, of all pertinent data. Mr. HERRICK requested that he be furnished with our reports concerning ALFIZU CA FOS since ALFIZU is already tending to make inflammatory remarks which approach inciting to violence. I believe copies of these reports should be furnished to the United States Attorney and this will be done unless the Bureau advises to the contrary.

ACS/mgm

Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Department of Justice

Box 4312, San Juan 21, Puerto Rico  
December 23, 1947

IN REPLY, PLEASE REFER TO  
FILE NO. SJ 100-3906



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Director, FBI

CLASS. & EXT. BY 2842 PMV/BTJ/RLS

REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2

DATE OF REVIEW 5/21/91

Re: PEDRO ALBIZU CAMPOS  
INTERNAL SECURITY (N)

Dear Sir:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

Re our radiogram of December 16, 1947.

PEDRO ALBIZU CAMPOS, de facto head of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico, returned from New York via the SS Kathryn of the Bull Lines at 3:00 P.M. on December 15, 1947. A crowd of several thousand people (estimated at 4000) was on hand to greet him at the dock. Many had come to San Juan by truck. A number of cities throughout the Island were represented.

Many Nationalist flags and placards were in evidence. A group of approximately 40 black-shirted, white-trousered "Cadets of the Republic," also known as "The Liberating Army," under the command of "Colonel" RAIMUNDO DIAZ PACHECO, formed an honor guard for Albizu. Their efforts to control the crowd surrounding ALBIZU were unsuccessful, and the mob of well-wishers surged around "The Teacher," touching and embracing him. The "Cadets" carried no arms or weapons of any kind. They appeared to be mainly youths, although a few middle-aged men were observed in the group.

In connection with these "Cadets" this office has observed and been informed of the drilling of a group of young men at Rio Piedras under the direction of DIAZ for several Sunday mornings preceding ALBIZU'S arrival. No Nationalist "Cadet Corps" uniforms were seen, however, prior to December 15, 1947. It is possible ALBIZU will attempt to reactivate the "Liberating Army" and this possibility will be closely watched.

High officials of the Communist and Independence Parties of Puerto Rico met ALBIZU at the pier. Thereafter they proceeded to the Te Deum Mass at the Cathedral, thence to the Sixto Escobar (baseball) Park, where no less than ten spokesmen for the Communist, Nationalist, and Independence Parties made speeches prior to the time ALBIZU took the floor. The crowd at the

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

34 JAN 14 1948

Letter to the Director  
Re: Pedro Albizu Campos, IS (N)

12/23/47

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

baseball park was chiefly interested in hearing Albizu, not the other speakers. It was of impressive size, but many were curiosity seekers, and unemployed youths who hang around the ball park.

The policies of the Nationalist Party, as enunciated by Albizu in his speech at the Sixto Escobar Park, and the next day at a press conference, can be summarized as follows:

1. Demand immediate withdrawal of all United States armed forces from Puerto Rico.
2. Urge all Puerto Ricans to refrain from voting in the coming elections, because to vote recognizes the Government of the United States in Puerto Rico.
3. Preach non-compliance with United States laws such as the Selective Service Act.
4. Request Puerto Ricans to insist no English be taught to their children in the schools.
5. Repudiate the American brand of democracy which allows racial discrimination.
6. Work toward United Nations intervention on behalf of Puerto Rico.
7. Achieve the ideal of Puerto Rican independence even at the sacrifice of life.
8. That revolution is justified if the tyranny of the United States cannot be abolished through peaceable means.

b2, b7D [Informant [REDACTED] (X)(U) who is known to the Bureau, (advised that a number of Nationalists had expressed to him their deep disappointment that Don Pedro did not bring back some novel and unique political idea, characterizing the above points as stale and uninteresting. They were particularly regretful that Albizu is insisting upon the retrainiento electoral (electoral

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Letter to the Director  
Re: Pedro Albizu Campos, Is (N)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

12/23/47

abstinence), since they were in hopes they could vote in next year's gubernatorial elections. Some, according to the informant, stated they would vote regardless of the policy of the party.

CELESTINO IRIARTE, President of the Republican Progressive Party (statehood advocates), ridiculed ALBIZU's recommendation that Puerto Ricans refrain from voting, pointing out that Puerto Ricans fought for 17 years for the right to United States citizenship, and will not now give up the rights incident thereto, one of which is the right to vote.

LUIS PEREZ MATOS, President of the Liberal Party, has expressed himself as opposed to electoral abstinence on the ground that it is negative political action.

LUIS MUÑOZ MARIN, Senate President, and Chief of the Popular Democratic Party (the controlling majority party in the Insular Government) has attacked ALBIZU and his program as ten years behind the times and failing completely to acknowledge the progress made in the years Albizu was absent.

Senator WILLIAM CORDOVA CHIRINO, a leader of the Independence Party of Puerto Rico, has said his party desires independence but that it can be accomplished through the ballot box. GILBERTO CONCEPCION DE GRACIA, President of this party, has declined comment on ALBIZU's program but, significantly, has publicly announced results of that party's effort to register for the 1948 elections.

The newspaper "El Imparcial," whose publisher is an Independentist, is following the policy of printing all of Albizu's comments in detail, hoping to make clear to the people the irrationality of his program. The publisher seeks independence through expression of independence sentiment at the elections.

Another newspaper, "El Universal," has published an editorial welcoming ALBIZU, and has published many news items and signed articles favorable to Albizu. However, the management is known to be conservative, and it is guessed that the paper, very recently established, is following a policy calculated to avoid a particular stand that would affect its sales at this time.)

Judging from statements on the three occasions he has spoken to and for the public, ALBIZU has not altered his theories nor his methods.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Letter to the Director  
Re: Pedro Albizu Campos IS (N)

12/23/47

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

He is making inflammatory speeches, preaching hatred and encouraging dissension. He is making fantastic charges and threats. His replies to critics are illogical and condemnatory. He is resorting to vicious language to refer to the United States Government, Americans, and Puerto Ricans who cooperate with the American Government.

There have been no unusual incidents of any consequence to date. The one incident that has attracted much public attention occurred at the University of Puerto Rico on the day of Albizu's return. Three students, Independentists and known radicals, lowered the American flag from its usual position and substituted the Nationalist flag. The American flag was eventually replaced by force. The students have been suspended and it is indicated they will probably be expelled at the conclusion of the investigation being conducted by University officials, and probably other students involved will also be suspended and expelled. Considerable controversy has resulted from this incident.

Many people are apprehensive of the future trend of events, fearing a revival of the terrorist activities that occurred some ten years ago and resulted in the conviction of ALBIZU CAMPOS and his associates for attempting to overthrow the Government by force. It is clear that ALBIZU CAMPOS will not find majority support for his program. In fact, it is amply clear that he represents a very small group of people.

The important factor, however, is his ability to stir up trouble and to inflame the fanatics who adhere to his cause. Our greatest fear and the fear of those whose opinions are based on apparently sound judgement, is that Albizu will himself inspire individual fanatics to commit some incident such as an attempted assassination or an attack upon a Federal official, although Albizu might not have specifically directed or approved such an act. In other words, it is questionable that he can maintain discipline over the people whom he is inciting.

The Marshal of the Insular Supreme Court has expressed concern for the safety of Justice A. CECIL SNYDER who was the United States Attorney prosecuting Albizu Campos.

I have informed the Insular Police that former Federal Judge ROBERT A. COOPER, who sentenced ALBIZU CAMPOS, has returned to Puerto Rico and is making his home here now. I was assured that efforts would be made to provide former Judge Cooper with protection.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Letter to the Director  
Re: Pedro Albizu Campos, IS (N)

12/23/47

Both the Army and the Navy are concerned. G-2 has reported that on the day that Albizu arrived several officers were rudely, if not offensively, addressed by Puerto Ricans. The Army has issued instructions that its personnel avoid crowds and groups of Puerto Ricans they observe on the streets. The Navy has been singled out for special attack by Albizu because of its recent condemnation of land on the Island of Vieques and it is possible that Navy personnel may be subjected to insults.

On the whole the attitude of Puerto Rican people towards Continentals is either friendly or indifferent. I have personally never observed anywhere on the Island any unprovoked act of unfriendliness toward a Continental by a Puerto Rican, nor have such incidents been at all prevalent.

The policy of this office will, of course, be to follow closely the activities of Albizu through confidential informants and to avoid scrupulously any evidence of interest in him. We have succeeded in obtaining stenographic transcriptions of ALBIZU CAMPOS' speeches through the cooperation of a local newspaper reporter who is agreeing to work with us. It will be our purpose to maintain an evidenciary record of Albizu's conduct and his public remarks should prosecutive action be necessary in the future.

I have informed G-2 and ONI, and have also discreetly discussed with other individuals to whom the attitude of this office is important, that it is my opinion that all agencies of the Federal Government should avoid any display of interest in Albizu which might be interpreted as a restrictive or surveilling activity. I have stated that Albizu and his policies are primarily a problem for the Puerto Rican people. It is time for the Puerto Ricans to demonstrate clearly whether or not they support policies advocated by this man, and that it is the responsibility of the FBI and other Federal agencies only to provide customary protection to citizens and to take prosecutive action if existing laws have been violated.

b7c In this connection [REDACTED] G-2, recently brought to me an Army report of statements made by ALBIZU at one of his public meetings, and informed me that General EDWIN BROOKS had expressed the opinion that these remarks were inciting to violence and should be presented to the United States Attorney. I endeavored immediately to make it clear to [REDACTED] that we considered it our function to handle violations of law, and appropriate information would be promptly furnished to the United States Attorney if a violation of the law was indicated, and endeavored to indicate that the interpretation of the statutes was a function of the United States Attorney.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Letter to the Director  
Re: Pedro Albizu Campos, IS (N)

12/23/47

We will, of course, make available immediately to interested agencies pertinent data concerning Albizu and his followers. The Bureau will be kept currently advised of developments.

Very truly yours



A. C. Schlenker  
SAC

ACS:GEH  
cc-New York

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CONFIDENTIAL

RECORDED

January 6, 1948

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL  
BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

Honorable J. A. Krug  
Secretary of the Interior  
Department of the Interior  
Washington, D. C.

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF *[Signature]*  
DATE 3-3-77

My dear Mr. Secretary:

Please refer to my letter of December 20, 1947. Additional details in which I feel you will be interested have been received concerning the recent visit to San Juan, Puerto Rico of Pedro Albizu Campos, head of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico.

An estimated crowd of 4,000 people was on hand to greet Albizu at the dock when he arrived at 3:00 P. M. on December 15, 1947. Many had come to San Juan by truck and represented a number of cities throughout the Island.

Many Nationalist flags and placards were in evidence. A group of approximately 40 black-shirted, white-trousered "Cadets of the Republic," also known as "The Liberating Army," under the command of "Colonel" Raimundo Diaz Pacheco, formed an honor guard for Albizu. Their efforts to control the crowd surrounding Albizu were unsuccessful, and the mob of well-wishers surged around "The Teacher," touching and embracing him. The "Cadets" carried no arms or weapons of any kind. They appeared to be mainly youths, although a few middle-aged men were observed in the group.

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The policies of the Nationalist Party, as enunciated by Albizu in his speech at the Sixto Escobar Park, and the next day at a press conference, can be summarized as follows:

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Egan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gurnea \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Pennington \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

62-7721

APC:GAS

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

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DATE 5/21/81 BY 2542 PMV/BTS/KUS

1. Demand immediate withdrawal of all United States armed forces from Puerto Rico.
2. Urge all Puerto Ricans to refrain from voting in the coming elections, because to vote recognizes the Government of the United States in Puerto Rico.
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A reliable confidential informant has advised that a number of Nationalists had expressed to him their deep disappointment that Don Pedro did not bring back some novel and unique political idea, characterizing the above points as stale and uninteresting. They were particularly regretful that Albizu is insisting upon the retrimiento electoral (electoral abstinence), since they were in hopes they could vote in next year's gubernatorial elections. Some, according to the informant, stated they would vote regardless of the policy of the party.

Celestino Iriarte, President of the Republican Progressive Party (statehood advocates), ridiculed Albizu's recommendation that Puerto Ricans refrain from voting, pointing out that Puerto Ricans fought for 17 years for the right to United States citizenship, and will not now give up the rights incident thereto, one of which is the right to vote.

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 Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
 Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Luis Munoz Marin, Senate President, and Chief of the Popular Democratic Party (the controlling majority party in the Insular Government) has attacked Albizu and his program as ten years behind the times and failing completely to acknowledge the progress made in the years Albizu was absent.

Senator William Cordova Chirino, a leader of the Independence Party of Puerto Rico, has said his party desires independence but that it can be accomplished through the ballot box. Gilberto Concepcion de Gracia, President of this Party, has declined comment on Albizu's program but, significantly, has publicly announced results of that party's effort to register for the 1948 elections.

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Albizu's speeches for the public have been described as inflammatory and it is apparent that he is preaching hatred and encouraging dissension. His charges and threats are described as fantastic while his replies to critics are illogical and condemnatory. He is resorting to vicious language when referring to the United States Government, Americans, and Puerto Ricans who cooperate with the American Government.

There have been no unusual incidents of any consequence since Albizu's arrival. One incident which has attracted considerable public attention occurred at the University of Puerto Rico on the day of Albizu's return to San Juan.

Three students, Independentists and known radicals, lowered the American flag from its usual position and substituted the Nationalist flag. The American flag was eventually replaced by force. The three students have been suspended and it is indicated they will be expelled at the conclusion of the investigation being conducted by University officials.

Some Puerto Ricans are apprehensive of the future trend of events, fearing a revival of the terrorist activities that occurred some ten years ago which resulted in the conviction of Albizu and his associates for attempting to overthrow the government by force. It has been reported, however, that Albizu

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
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will not find majority support for his program. In fact, it appears clear that he represents a very small group of people. It is feared, however, in view of his ability to stir up trouble and to inflame the fanatics who adhere to his cause, that he will inspire individual fanatics to commit some incident such as an attempted assassination or an attack upon a Federal official, although Albizu might not have specifically directed or approved such an act.

The Marshal of the Insular Supreme Court has expressed concern for the safety of Justice A. Cecil Snyder who was the United States Attorney prosecuting Albizu at the time of his previous conviction.

A confidential source who is believed to be reliable has advised that Albizu told him off the record that the case of Puerto Rico would be brought before the Pan-American Conference scheduled for March, 1948, at Bogota, Colombia. The object in mind is not known but presumably has some connection with the eight point policy of the Nationalist Party.

With expressions of my highest esteem and best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
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Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_



UNITED STATES  
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR  
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY  
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

JAN - 8 1948

My dear Mr. Hoover:

I am sorry that in the holiday rush, we did not sooner thank you for your note of December 20 conveying further information in regard to Pedro

Albizu Campos.

*Nationalist Party of  
Puerto Rico*

Cordially,

*J. A. Krug*  
Secretary of the Interior.  
(J. A. Krug)

Hon. John Edgar Hoover, Director,

Federal Bureau of Investigation.

RECORDED

EX-59

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 4-19-00 BY SP4BJA-MB  
*Admin*

5817

**FOR VICTORY**  
**BUY**  
**UNITED**  
**STATES**  
**WAR**  
**BONDS**  
**AND**  
**STAMPS**

IN REPLY, PLEASE REFER TO  
FILE NO. SJ 100-3906

Re: PEDRO ALBIZU CAMPOS  
INTERNAL SECURITY (N)

Enclosed is a clipping from ~~El~~ Imparcial, San Juan newspaper, 1/10/48, which quotes statements allegedly made by me, and a translation.

To the reporter from El Imparcial who questioned me concerning our attitude towards ALBIZU CAMPOS, the reported re-activation of the "Liberating Army," and the speeches made by ALBIZU since his return to Puerto Rico, I stated I wished to be quoted simply as "No Comment."

I then discussed with the reporter telling him that in order that he might understand the function of the FBI, that we conduct investigations of all alleged violations of Federal laws within our jurisdiction, but that we could not characterize any individual or group as violators of those laws, since that was the function of the courts. I emphasized that the FBI is strictly an investigating and reporting agency and that it is the responsibility of the United States Attorney to determine if the facts so gathered and reported warrant prosecution, and of the Federal Courts to determine, if prosecution ensues, that a person charged is guilty of a violation.

I informed him that for these reasons, in response to his specific questions, I could not comment on ALBIZU's speeches and activities as constituting violations or even potential violations, nor could I, in regard to the Liberating Army, state that their current appearance in uniform was or was not a violation, nor could I specify the nature of future activities which would constitute a violation. I explained that the interpretation of the law was not our responsibility or privilege.

~~COPIES DESTROYED~~  
14 MAY 26 1960

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AN 13 1948

**FIVE**

Letter to the Director  
Re: Pedro Albizu Campos  
Internal Security (N)

1/10/48

El Imparcial is a notoriously unreliable publication and its publisher is an Independentist. I have previously informed the Bureau that the publisher, ANTONIO AYUSO VALDIVIESO, does not have a good reputation for intelligence or political character. DAVID FERNSLER of the Associated Press, Washington, D. C., writes a column in El Imparcial, and is presumably friendly with AYUSO and sympathetic with Ayuso's political views.

El Imparcial has also given a great deal of publicity to ALBIZU CAMPOS, and it appears that AYUSO has utilized ALBIZU and any of his statements to further his anti-American campaign, although the Nationalist cause itself is harmful to AYUSO's Independentist policies since he believes, ostensibly, in a legal and peaceful solution of the status question.

No other local newspaper has questioned me regarding the FBI's attention to ALBIZU and the Nationalists. I shall, of course, continue to refuse any comment on this situation without prior Bureau consultation.

Very truly yours



A. C. Schlenker  
SAC

ACS:GEH  
Enclosures



# FBI No Ha Actuado A Base De Discurso Dr. Albizu; No Interpretan Las Leyes

EL IMPARCIAL - SABADO 10 DE ENERO DE 1948.

Preguntado ayer el Director regional del Negociado Federal de Investigaciones, A. C. Schlenker, si dicha dependencia se

ha interesado en alguna forma en las recientes manifestaciones públicas del doctor Pedro Albizu Campos, Presidente del Partido Nacionalista, en lo referente a la forma en que dicha colectividad responderá a hipótesis futuras actuaciones del regimen norteamericano en la Isla, dicho funcionario federal respondió que "el Negociado Federal de Investigaciones no es una organización que actúa a base de manifestaciones particulares, ni se supone que se dedique a interpretar las leyes federales. La misión de interpretar dichos estatutos y la de proceder como sea necesario en casos específicos, corresponde al Fiscal de la Corte de Distrito de los Estados Unidos en Puerto Rico y nuestras actividades se limitan a intervenir en aquellos casos en que claramente se advierte una infracción específica de la ley".

Al ser interrogado sobre si el Negociado Federal de Investigaciones se había entregado a alguna investigación con motivo de la aparición en público del Ejército Libertador del Partido Nacionalista, el Director de los agentes federales en la Isla, dijo que no deseaba comentar sobre el particular, ya que no se había advertido circunstancia alguna que justificara la interven-

ción de su dependencia a ese respecto. "Nosotros", dijo Schenker, "tenemos el deber de estar siempre alertas en cualquier infracción de ley que esté dentro de nuestra ju-

risdicción, pero nos limitamos a intervenir en aquellos asuntos específicos que merezcan atención, sin que procedamos hasta tanto ello sea necesario".

El Imparcial  
San Juan, Puerto Rico  
1/10/47

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 3/21/81 BY 2842 Pm/875/NU

6/22/86 SP-196/NU CA264006

~~FBI HAS NOT ACTED ON THE BASIS OF DR. ALBIZU'S SPEECH  
DOES NOT INTERPRET LAWS~~

Upon questioning the Special Agent in Charge of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, A. C. Schlenker, as to whether that agency has interested itself in any way in the recent public statements of Dr. Pedro Albizu Campos, President of the Nationalist Party, in regard to the manner in which that group may respond to hypothetical future action on the part of the North American regime in Puerto Rico, Mr. Schlenker stated that "The Federal Bureau of Investigation is not an organization which acts on the basis of specific manifestations, neither is it supposed to interpret Federal laws. The interpretation of statutes and procedure which may be necessary in specific cases is the responsibility of the United States Attorney of the District Court of the United States in Puerto Rico. Our activities are limited to those cases which are a clear violation of the law."

Upon being asked if the Federal Bureau of Investigation had conducted any investigation relative to the reappearance in public of the Liberating Army of the Nationalist Party, the Director of Federal Agents on the Island stated that he did not wish to comment on this matter, in view of the fact that no incident had been observed which would justify any action on the part of this Agency. Mr. Schlenker stated, "We are charged with the duty of being alert to any violation of law which is under our jurisdiction, but we limit ourselves to action in those specific cases which merit attention and no procedure is instituted until it becomes necessary."

El Imparcial  
San Juan, Puerto Rico  
1/10/48  
Translation/geh

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/21/81

BY 2842 PMV/PTJ/ELU

6/23/86 SP-1 AG/NU C#264006

NOTES: DELETED 6/21/00

13 10-15-11  
[Signature]



UNITED STATES  
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR  
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY  
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

JAN 14 1948

Mr. Clegg	
Mr. Glavin	
Mr. Ladd	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tracy	
Mr. Egan	
Mr. Gurnea	
Mr. Harbo	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Pennington	
Mr. Quinn Tamm	
Mr. Nease	
Mr. Carson	

PERSONAL & CONFIDENTIAL

My dear Mr. Hoover:

Thank you very much for your letter of January 6, covering developments in Puerto Rico in connection with and subsequent to the arrival of Pedro Albizu Campos. Naturally, this material is of great interest to us.

Cordially yours,

*J. H. Tamm*  
Secretary of the Interior.

Hon. John Edgar Hoover, Director,  
Federal Bureau of Investigation.

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 4-19-00 BY SP4 PJA-MLB  
admm

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105-11873-183  
JAN 21 1948

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# Office Memorandum

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

DATE: 1/16/48

FROM : SAC, San Juan

SUBJECT: PEDRO ALBIZU CAMPOS  
INTERNAL SECURITY (N)

Re SAC Letter #44, Series 1947, dated 4/14/47.

PEDRO ALBIZU CAMPOS, undisputed leader of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico, recently returned to Puerto Rico to resume active direction of the Nationalist Party. He is considered the top functionary and sole policy maker of the party.

Unless instructed to the contrary, ALBIZU will be under continuous active investigation by this office.

JW:GEH  
100-3906

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/22/81 BY 2842 PMV/BSK/BU

6/23/86 SP-7 AB/ED 264006/0 11-16 184

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EX-27

RECORDED

SAC, San Juan

Director, FBI

February 20, 1948

PEDRO ALBIZU-CAMPOS;  
INTERNAL SECURITY - N

Reference is made to your form FD-122 submitted on January 17, 1948 recommending the preparation of a security index card on Campos.

For your information, the subject has been and is still considered a key figure in the New York Division, and is the subject of a security index card reflecting his residence as being in New York City.

If the subject now appears to be residing permanently in Puerto Rico you should so advise the New York Office in order that that office may forward form FD-128 along with pertinent information concerning the subject's activities while in New York, and change the office of origin to your office.

The last report submitted by the New York Office was that of Special Agent A. B. Novak dated April 29, 1947. The New York Office should submit a report bringing the subject's activities up to date before changing the origin in this case.

CC: New York City

ENDING

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/22/81 BY 2842 PMV/BYJ/KWS

6/23/86 SP-1 AG/RD CF264006

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Egan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gurnea \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Pennington \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_



**Federal Bureau of Investigation**  
**United States Department of Justice**  
P. O. Box 4312 - San Juan, P. R.  
January 17, 1948



IN REPLY, PLEASE REFER TO  
FILE NO. 100-3906

Director, FBI

**PEDRO ALBIZU-CAMPOS**  
RE: SECURITY MATTER (N)

Dear Sir:

It is recommended that a Security Index card be prepared relative to the individual named below:

Name: **PEDRO ALBIZU-CAMPOS**  
Aliases: **PEDRO ALBIZU**

Residence Address: **Room 423, Normandie Hotel**  
**San Juan, Puerto Rico**

Business Address: **Same**

☒ Native Born (Puerto Rican) Alien ☐ Naturalized  
☐ Communist ☐ German ☐ Miscellaneous  
☐ Fascist (Italian) ☐ Japanese ☒ Nationalist

Date of Birth 1891  
Place of Birth Ponce, Puerto Rico  
Entered U. S. \_\_\_\_\_ at \_\_\_\_\_  
Naturalized (date) All Puerto Ricans are U. S. citizens 10-1-11-11 185  
Naturalized (place and Court) \_\_\_\_\_

JW/mgm

Very truly yours,

*A. C. Schlenker*  
A. C. Schlenker EX-59  
SAC

JAN 20 1948

**ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED**

DATE 5/22/81 BY 2842 pmy/PTJ/RS  
6723186 SP-1 AB/NO 026406

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : The Director

DATE: March 4, 1948

FROM : D. M. Ladd

SUBJECT: PEDRO ALBIZU CAMPOS

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. E. A. Tamm	
Mr. Clegg	
Mr. Glavin	
Mr. Ladd	✓
Mr. Nichols	✓
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tracy	
Mr. Egan	
Mr. Gurnea	
Mr. Harbo	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Pennington	
Mr. Quinn Tamm	
Mr. Nease	
Miss Gandy	

Mr. Tamm's memorandum to you of March 2, 1948, on James Van Benschoter Bennett, Director, Bureau of Prisons, recommended the return of Bennett's Loyalty form stamped "no disloyal data." Bennett's interest in the subject, from a probation and parole standpoint, was believed to be insignificant. In a note at the bottom you agreed, and asked whatever became of Campos.

Pedro Albizu Campos is, as you know, President of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico. He left New York, where he has been living for some time, for Puerto Rico, where he arrived December 15, 1947. A crowd estimated at 4,000 greeted him at the dock. Many Nationalist flags and placards were in evidence. A group of approximately 40 black-shirted, white-trousered "Cadets of the Republic," also known as "The Liberating Army," formed an honor guard for him. The "Cadets" carried no arms or weapons of any kind. They appeared to be mainly youths, although a few middle-aged men were observed in the group.

The policies of the Nationalist Party as enunciated by Albizu Campos in a speech on December 15, and at a press conference the next day have been summarized as follows:

1. Demand immediate withdrawal of all United States armed forces from Puerto Rico.
2. Urge all Puerto Ricans to refrain from voting in the coming elections, because to vote recognizes the Government of the United States in Puerto Rico.
3. Preach non-compliance with United States laws such as the Selective Service Act.
4. Request Puerto Ricans to insist no English be taught to their children in the schools.
5. Repudiate the American brand of democracy which allows racial discrimination.

APC:jc  
62-7721

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/22/81 BY 2842 Pm/BJJ/20

6/23/86 88-7 AC/20 C#264006

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152

6. Work toward United Nations intervention on behalf of Puerto Rico.
7. Achieve the ideal of Puerto Rican independence even at the sacrifice of life.
8. That revolution is justified if the tyranny of the United States cannot be abolished through peaceable means.

Reliable informants have advised that a number of Nationalists have expressed a deep disappointment that Albizu Campos did not bring back to Puerto Rico some novel and unique political idea. They characterized the above eight points as stale and uninteresting. They were particularly regretful that he is insisting upon electoral abstinence on the part of Nationalist Party members. Several leading political figures in Puerto Rico have been critical of his program and actions. The opinion has been expressed that Albizu Campos will not find, in Puerto Rico, majority support for his program. In fact, it appears that he represents a relatively small group of people. However, the fear has been expressed that in view of his ability to stir up trouble and to inflame the fanatics who adhere to his cause, that he will inspire individual fanatics to commit some incident such as an attempted assassination or an attack upon a Federal official, although Albizu Campos might not specifically direct or approve such an act.

The San Juan Office is following closely all activities of the subject. The Criminal Division of the Department and the Department of the Interior are being kept advised of developments.



BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

To: Director of Intelligence  
General Staff  
Department of the Army  
The Pentagon  
Washington, D. C.

Attention: Colonel L. R. Forney  
Chief, Security Group

From: John Edgar Hoover - Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

Subject: PEDRO ALBIZU CAMPOS  
OVERTHROW OR DESTRUCTION OF GOVERNMENT

You will find attached copies of a memorandum containing information on the recent activities of Pedro Albizu Campos, President of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico. I believe it will be of interest to you in view of indications that he is resuming the type of subversive activity that led to his conviction in 1936 for attempting to overthrow the United States Government by force and violence.

You will be advised of any pertinent developments in this case.

☆ **CARRIER** of Naval Intelligence  
 Department of the Navy  
 Constitution Avenue  
 U.S. Navy Building  
 Washington, D. C.

**RECEIVED**  
**NAVY DEPARTMENT**  
**U.S. NAVY**  
**WASHINGTON, D. C.**

Director of Intelligence  
 United States Air Force  
 The Pentagon  
 Washington, D. C.

APC:rb  
Enclosure

349

Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Department of Justice

Box 4312, San Juan 21, Puerto Rico  
March 29, 1948

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. E. A. Tamm	✓
Mr. Clegg	✓
Mr. Glavin	✓
Mr. Ladd	✓
Mr. Nichols	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Tracy	✓
Mr. Egan	✓
Mr. Gurnea	✓
Mr. Harbo	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Pennington	✓
Mr. Quinn Tamm	✓
Mr. Nease	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

Director, FBI

Re: PEDRO ALBIZU CAMPOS  
OVERTHROW OR DESTRUCTION OF  
GOVERNMENT

Dear Sir:

Re my letters 12/23/47 and 1/2/48, in which I reported that the subject was again in Puerto Rico, and appeared to be resuming the same type of subversive activity that lead to his conviction in 1936 for attempting to overthrow the United States Government by force and violence.

Public and private statements made by PEDRO ALBIZU CAMPOS since his return to Puerto Rico indicate positively that he today advocates policies identical to those advocated by him prior to his conviction. Furthermore, reliable information indicates that PEDRO ALBIZU CAMPOS is the virtual dictator of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico and is its sole policy maker.

In speeches made since his arrival, the subject has urged all Puerto Ricans not to (1) participate in Insular elections, (2) pay Federal or Insular taxes, (3) comply with any Selective Service law or bear arms in defense of the United States, (4) recognize the sovereignty of the United States in Puerto Rico, (5) cooperate with the United States or Insular Governments or institutions, (6) permit their children to be taught in the English language. He has even gone so far as to recommend that Puerto Ricans take up arms to secure their independence.

In his most recent speech at Ponce, Puerto Rico on March 21, 1948, PEDRO ALBIZU CAMPOS issued a violent and insurrectionary diatribe against the United States and its leaders. In attacking the practice of conscripting Puerto Ricans in time of emergency, Albizu declared:

"Here, anyone who presents himself to serve in a recruiting board should be shot, if necessary. You must speak ~~clearly~~ clearly to those people."



14 MAY 26 1950

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/20/81 BY 28722 PMV/BTJ/26

EX-137

187

Letter to the Director  
Re: Pedro Albizu Campos  
Overthrow or Destruction of Government

3/29/48

"I am glad to tell the truth. But he who wishes to again impose upon the Puerto Ricans the alternative of compulsory military service - serving as instruments of the United States - is an enemy of each and every Puerto Rican."

He also stated:

"We have arrived at the end of our patience and we must say it once and for all - that crusades and calls to youth must find not only the material and economic cooperation of all the Puerto Ricans, but that each man and woman in Puerto Rico must offer to clutch a rifle, a dagger, or a pistol, to defend the independence of his children. I have already seen in the press that the Rotarians, Lions, and various others institutions offered to cooperate with compulsory military service. The notices were not officially issued by the institutions, but they have not been denied. I wish to say that our patience has ended in connection with enemies of Puerto Rico exercising political, economic, and social authority. All institutions which do not cooperate actively with the independence of Puerto Rico must be dissolved - by force if necessary.

"Those who in public or private schools have the insolence to make Puerto Rican children swear allegiance to the American Flag are the profaners, assassins, and corruptors of justice in Puerto Rico.

"Let us call everyone to order so that no one will walk around with an air of authority over us. Bold and insolent - silent - before the Massacres of Río Piedras, San Juan, Ponce, Utuado.....Those whose lips do not utter the sacred words, Independence of Puerto Rico.

"This immense multitude applauds my words, is given feeling by these supreme necessities, but this multitude would not merit having human hands if it would not learn to grasp a rifle, a dagger, or a pistol to make good the independence of Puerto Rico."

b2, b7D Information received from [REDACTED] a reliable and highly confidential informant, indicates that PEDRO ALBIZU CAMPOS is endeavoring to formulate plans for an Island-wide, armed revolt to take place in three or four months.

As the Bureau has been already advised, a copy of the reports on PEDRO ALBIZU CAMPOS will be made available to the U. S. Attorney in San Juan. This will enable him to determine if and when prosecution of the subject should be authorized.

Letter to the Director  
Re: Pedro Albizu Campos  
Overthrow or Destruction of Government

3/29/48

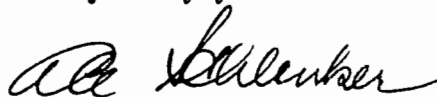
Immediately after ALBIZU's Ponce speech several persons expressed to me their concern and indignation over the boldness of his remarks. I consider it necessary that prompt and current reports be made available to the U. S. Attorney and the Department so that all evidence of violations of law by ALBIZU and his followers can be examined for prosecution purposes.

Since the activities of ALBIZU have now definitely assumed the character of criminal violations, and reports will go to the U. S. Attorney, we will, unless advised to the contrary, open a new file entitled PEDRO ALBIZU CAMPOS, OVERTHROW OR DESTRUCTION OF GOVERNMENT, CONSPIRACY. It is intended to limit reports in this file to evidence of the violation specified in the character. As necessary other subjects will be added. The Internal Security file on ALBIZU will be closed. Miscellaneous data on activities of his group will continue to be reported in the file NATIONALIST PARTY OF PUERTO RICO, INTERNAL SECURITY - N. If prosecution of ALBIZU and/or his associates ensues a summary report tracing the sequence of his activities and correlating the evidence of his intention to violate specific statutes, will be prepared.

It is evident that, if a Selective Service statute should again be enacted by Congress and made applicable to Puerto Rico, ALBIZU will counsel evasion. All officers administering and enforcing Selective Service laws, including FBI Agents, may be placed in danger if Nationalists carry out the instructions of ALBIZU to resort to violence in resisting compulsory military service.

Our investigative work in this matter is being intensified in order that prompt and complete information of developments may be assured. I also want the prosecutive officials to have in their possession complete data before any specific and overt act takes place. Local authorities are interested and I have no doubt that they will act promptly if any act of violence occurs. However, if any Selective Service officer, or one of our Agents should be the victim of such violence, we shall have to be prepared for appropriate action.

Very truly yours



A. C. Schlenker  
SAC

ACS:GEH  
3-  
cc - 100-3906

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

April 16, 1948

Major General Lewis B. Hershey  
Director  
Selective Service Records  
21st and C Streets, N. W.  
Washington, D. C.

DECLASSIFIED BY 6080  
ON 2-14-77

Rm

RE: PEDRO ALBIZU CAMPOS

Dear General Hershey:

As you are no doubt aware, Pedro Albizu Campos is President of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico. He was convicted in 1936 for attempting to overthrow the United States Government by force and violence. After his release from prison he lived in New York until December, 1947, when he returned to Puerto Rico. Since his arrival there on December 15, 1947, he has been very active in the Nationalist Party and it now appears that he is resuming the same type of subversive activity that led to his previous conviction.

Reliable information indicates that Pedro Albizu Campos is the virtual dictator of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico and is its sole policy maker. In speeches made since his arrival in San Juan, Albizu Campos has urged all Puerto Ricans not to (1) participate in Insular elections, (2) pay Federal or Insular taxes, (3) comply with any Selective Service law or bear arms in defense of the United States, (4) recognize the sovereignty of the United States in Puerto Rico, (5) cooperate with the United States or Insular Governments or institutions, (6) permit their children to be taught in the English language. He has even gone so far as to recommend that Puerto Ricans take up arms to secure their independence.

In his most recent speech at Ponce, Puerto Rico, on March 21, 1948, Pedro Albizu Campos issued a violent and insurrectionary diatribe against the United States and its leaders. In attacking the practice of conscripting Puerto Ricans in time of emergency, Albizu declared:

"Here, anyone who presents himself to serve in a recruiting board should be shot, if necessary. You must speak very clearly to those people."

"I am glad to tell the truth. But he who wishes to again impose upon the Puerto Ricans the alternative of compulsory military service - serving as instruments of the United States - is an enemy of each and every Puerto Rican."

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION  
He also stated:  
MAILED 8  
APR 19 1948 PM  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

APC:rb

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/22/81 BY 2842

once and for all - that crusades and calls to youth must find not only the material and economic cooperation of all the Puerto Ricans, but that each man and woman in Puerto Rico must offer to clutch a rifle, a dagger, or a pistol, to defend the independence of his children. I have already seen in the press that the Rotarians, Lions, and various other institutions offered to cooperate with compulsory military service. The notices were not officially issued by the institutions, but they have not been denied. I wish to say that our patience has ended in connection with enemies of Puerto Rico exercising political, economic and social authority. All institutions which do not cooperate actively with the independence of Puerto Rico must be dissolved - by force if necessary.

"Those who in public or private schools have the insolence to make Puerto Rican children swear allegiance to the American flag are the profaners, assassins, and corruptors of justice in Puerto Rico.

"Let us call everyone to order so that no one will walk around with an air of authority over us. Bold and insolent - silent - before the Massacres of Rio Piedras, San Juan, Ponce, Utuado ... Those whose lips do not utter the sacred words, Independence of Puerto Rico.

"This immense multitude applauds my words, is given feeling by these supreme necessities, but this multitude would not merit having human hands if it would not learn to grasp a rifle, a dagger, or a pistol to make good the independence of Puerto Rico."

A confidential, reliable informant has furnished information which indicates that Albizu Campos is endeavoring to formulate plans for an Island-wide, armed revolt to take place in the next three or four months.

It is evident that if a Selective Service Statute should again be enacted by the Congress of the United States and made applicable to Puerto Rico, Albizu Campos will counsel evasion. All officers administering and enforcing Selective Service laws may be placed in danger if the Nationalist Party members carry out the instructions of Albizu Campos to resort to violence in resisting compulsory military service.

Our investigative work in this matter is being intensified in order that prompt and complete information of future developments may be issued. Local Puerto Rican authorities are interested in the Nationalist Party and its leader, and it is believed that they will act promptly if any violence occurs.

You will be advised of pertinent developments in this case.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

PERSONAL AND ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

DE ~~2-12-22~~  
ON ~~2-12-22~~  
POS

My dear Mr. Secretary:

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to again impose  
y service - serving  
d every Puerto

NON-EXPOSURE SECTION  
 "We have arrived at  
 ☆ APR 19 1948 P.M.  
 FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
 APC:rb  
 U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

6/23/86 SF-106102 (H)Wanh Pmiller/2122

once and for all - that crusades and calls to youth must find not only the material and economic cooperation of all the Puerto Ricans, but that each man and woman in Puerto Rico must offer to clutch a rifle, a dagger, or a pistol, to defend the independence of his children. I have already seen in the press that the Rotarians, Lions, and various other institutions offered to cooperate with compulsory military service. The notices were not officially issued by the institutions, but they have not been denied. I wish to say that our patience has ended in connection with enemies of Puerto Rico exercising political, economic and social authority. All institutions which do not cooperate actively with the independence of Puerto Rico must be dissolved - by force if necessary.

"Those who in public or private schools have the insolence to make Puerto Rican children swear allegiance to the American flag are the profaners, assassins, and corruptors of justice in Puerto Rico.

"Let us call everyone to order so that no one will walk around with an air of authority over us. Bold and insolent - silent - before the Massacres of Rio Piedras, San Juan, Ponce, Utuado .... Those whose lips do not utter the sacred words, Independence of Puerto Rico.

"This immense multitude applauds my words, is given feeling by these supreme necessities, but this multitude would not merit having human hands if it would not learn to grasp a rifle, a dagger, or a pistol to make good the independence of Puerto Rico."

Information received from a confidential, reliable source indicates that Albizu Campos is endeavoring to formulate plans for an Island-wide, armed revolt to take place in the next three or four months.

This Bureau's investigative work in this matter is being intensified in order that prompt and complete information on developments may be assured. Local authorities are interested in Albizu Campos and the Nationalist Party and it is believed they will act promptly if any act of violence occurs.

With expressions of my highest esteem and best regards,

Sincerely yours,





Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Department of Justice

P. O. Box 4312 - San Juan, P. R.  
April 17, 1948



IN REPLY, PLEASE REFER TO  
FILE NO. 100-3906

ag  
1-1

Director, FBI

RE: SECURITY MATTER

Dear Sir:

It is recommended that a Security Index card be prepared relative to the individual named below:

Name: **PEDRO ALBIZU-CAMPOS**  
Aliases: **PEDRO ALBIZU**

Residence Address: **Room 423**  
**Hotel Normandie**  
**San Juan, Puerto Rico**  
Business Address: **Same**

☒ Native Born      ☐ Alien      ☐ Naturalized  
☐ Communist      ☐ German      ☐ Miscellaneous  
☐ Fascist (Italian)      ☐ Japanese      ☒ Puerto Rican Nationalist

Date of Birth 9-12-91  
Place of Birth Ponce, Puerto Rico  
Entered U. S. \_\_\_\_\_ at \_\_\_\_\_  
Naturalized (date) \_\_\_\_\_  
Naturalized (place and Court) \_\_\_\_\_

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/22/81 BY 2842 PMV  
6/23/86 SP-1 AEL/RO 01264006

Very truly yours,

*A. C. Schlenker*

A. C. Schlenker

SAC

RECORDED

100-11815-190

77

01

COL-100

47

SAC, San Juan

June 30, 1948

Director, FBI

PEDRO ALBIZU-CAMPOS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - N  
Your File #100-3906

105-11895-191

Reurlet April 17, 1948, submitting a form FD 122 on the above captioned individual.

Please be advised that the Bureau's records reflect that a Security Index card is presently filed on Campos indicating San Juan as the Office of Origin. The Bureau card has been corrected to reflect his residence address as appearing on your FD 122. The San Juan office should immediately prepare a Security Index card with the information appearing on your FD 122 of April 17, 1948.

RECORDED - 66  
EX-152-7721

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Egan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gurnea \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Pennington \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

HT:mfs, mhc

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION  
MAILED 9  
JUN 30 1948 P.M.  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/22/81 BY 2842 PMV/PTJ/KLS  
6/23/86 SP-1 AG/RD CT264006

*D. Lane*

*H. H. H.*

*3708*

*NH*

*Office Memorandum* • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

: Director, FBI

DATE: 4-17-48

*[Signature]* SAC, San Juan

SUBJECT: PEDRO ALBIZU-CAMPOS  
INTERNAL SECURITY (N)

*Top Functionary  
San Juan*

Reurlet 2-20-48.

In compliance your letter, this office on 2-25-48 advised New York Office that subject intended to reside permanently in Puerto Rico and requested New York to forward form FD-128 and change origin to San Juan Office.

In absence of information to date from the New York Office, this is to advise that effective immediately PEDRO ALBIZU CAMPOS will be carried as a top functionary on the Security Index of this office. This action is being taken as a result of the Security Index survey recently ordered by the Bureau.

JW/mgm  
100-3906

G. I. R. - 9

cc: New York City

RECORDED

105-11818-11  
62-7701-11  
B K  
21 APR 19 1948

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/22/81 BY 2842 PAV/BTS/RS  
6/23/86 SP-1 AG/RU 264006

Assistant Attorney General T. Vincent Quinn  
Criminal Division

April 16, 1948

Director, FBI

PEDRO <sup>6</sup>ALBIZU CAMPOS  
OVERTHROW OR DESTRUCTION OF GOVERNMENT

You will find attached a memorandum containing information on the recent activities of Pedro Albizu Campos, President of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico. I believe it will be of interest to you in view of indications that he is resuming the type of subversive activity that led to his conviction in 1936 for attempting to overthrow the United States Government by force and violence. Rm

Our investigative work in this matter is being intensified in order that prompt and complete information on future developments may be assured.

You will be advised of all pertinent information received.

EX-59 Attachment

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. E. A. Tamm  
Mr. Clegg  
Mr. Glavin  
Mr. Ladd  
Mr. Nichols  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Tracy  
Mr. Egan  
Mr. Gurnea  
Mr. Harbo  
Mr. Mohr  
Mr. Pennington  
Mr. Quinn Tamm  
Tele. Room  
Mr. Nease  
Miss Gandy

APC:rb

RECORDED & INDEXED  
EX-59

105-11818-192

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/22/81 BY SP4 JPM/vj  
6-23-86 SP4 JPM/vj 4264006

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **SAN JUAN**

NY FILE NO. **100-47403** B2A

<b>REPORT MADE AT</b>  <b>NEW YORK</b>	<b>DATE WHEN MADE</b>  <b>4/27/48</b>	<b>PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE</b> <b>12/11, 12/47;</b> <b>1/14, 1/9;</b> <b>4/10/48</b>	<b>REPORT MADE BY</b>  <b>ALFRED B. NOVAK</b>
<b>TITLE</b>  <b>REDAI ALBIZO CAMPOS, was.</b>			<b>CHARACTER OF CASE</b>  <b>INTERNAL SECURITY - R</b>
<p><b>SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:</b></p> <p style="margin-left: 40px;">CAMPOS departed from NYC 12/12/47 for San Juan. Informant states reaction in NYC is that CAMPOS will exploit sentimentalism of the Puerto Ricans and may detract somewhat from Communist program for independence of Puerto Rico.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">- P U C -</p> <p><b>REFERENCE:</b> Bureau letter to San Juan, 2/20/48. San Juan letter to New York, 2/25/48.</p> <p style="text-align: right; margin-right: 100px;"><b>b2 b7D</b></p> <p><b>DETAILS:</b> Former Confidential Informant [redacted] advised that on December 9, 1947 two members of the Maggitten Junta of the Nationalist Party approached him and solicited a contribution of \$25 to a fund to help pay for the transportation of REDAI ALBIZO CAMPOS, President of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico from New York City to San Juan. The informant was told that CAMPOS expected to leave New York City on December 11, 1947 via Pan American Airways.</p> <p style="margin-left: 40px;">As a result of a physical surveillance it was determined that CAMPOS, together with three Puerto Ricans, proceeded by taxicab from the apartment building at 319 West 13th Street to the Ball Steamship Lines pier at the foot of Atlantic Avenue, Brooklyn, New York, shortly after 3 PM on December 11, 1947.</p>			
<b>APPROVED AND FORWARDED:</b>		<b>SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE</b>	<b>DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES</b>
<b>COPIES OF THIS REPORT</b>  5 - Bureau 3 - San Juan (100-3906) 3 - New York		<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; margin: 0 auto; width: 80%;"> <p><b>ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED</b>  <b>HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED</b>  <b>DATE 5/22/81 BY 2842 PMV/MS/RLW</b>          6/23/80 SP-1 AR/ALW CW 264006</p> </div>	

April 16, 1948

PEDRO ALBIZU CAMPOS

Pedro Albizu Campos is President of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico. He was convicted in 1936 for attempting to overthrow the United States Government by force and violence. After his release from prison he lived in New York until December, 1947, when he returned to Puerto Rico. Since his arrival there on December 15, 1947, he has been very active in the Nationalist Party and it now appears that he is resuming the same type of subversive activity that led to his previous conviction.

Reliable information indicates that Pedro Albizu Campos is the virtual dictator of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico and is its sole policy maker. In speeches made since his arrival in San Juan, Albizu Campos has urged all Puerto Ricans not to (1) participate in Insular elections, (2) pay Federal or Insular taxes, (3) comply with any Selective Service law or bear arms in defense of the United States, (4) recognize the sovereignty of the United States in Puerto Rico, (5) cooperate with the United States or Insular Governments or institutions, (6) permit their children to be taught in the English language. He has even gone so far as to recommend that Puerto Ricans take up arms to secure their independence.

In his most recent speech at Ponce, Puerto Rico, on March 21, 1948, Pedro Albizu Campos issued a violent and insurrectionary diatribe against the United States and its leaders. In attacking the practice of conscripting Puerto Ricans in time of emergency, Albizu declared:

"Here, anyone who presents himself to serve in a recruiting board should be shot, if necessary. You must speak very clearly to those people.

"I am glad to tell the truth. But he who wishes to again impose upon the Puerto Ricans the alternative of compulsory military service - serving as instruments of the United States - is an enemy of each and every Puerto Rican."

He also stated:

"We have arrived at the end of our patience and we must say it once and for all - that crusades and calls to youth must find not only the material and economic cooperation of all the Puerto Ricans, but that each man and woman in Puerto Rico must offer to clutch a rifle, a dagger, or a pistol, to defend the independence of his children. I have already seen in the press that the Notarians, Lions, and various other institutions offered to cooperate with compulsory military service. The notices were not officially issued by

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. E. A. Tamm  
Mr. Clegg  
Mr. Glavin  
Mr. Ladd  
Mr. Nichols  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Tracy  
Mr. Egan  
Mr. Gurnea  
Mr. Harbo  
Mr. Mohr  
Mr. Pennington  
Mr. Quinn  
Miss Gandy

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/22/81 BY 2842 PPH/185/215

RECEIVED READING ROOM  
APR 17 4 58 PM '48

the institutions, but they have not been denied. I wish to say that our patience has ended in connection with enemies of Puerto Rico exercising political, economic and social authority. All institutions which do not cooperate actively with the independence of Puerto Rico must be dissolved - by force if necessary.

"Those who in public or private schools have the insolence to make Puerto Rican children swear allegiance to the American flag are the profaners, assassins, and corruptors of justice in Puerto Rico.

"Let us call everyone to order so that no one will walk around with an air of authority over us. Bold and insolent - silent - before the Massacres of Rio Piedras, San Juan, Ponce, Utuado ... Those whose lips do not utter the sacred words, Independence of Puerto Rico.

"This immense multitude applauds my words, is given feeling by these supreme necessities, but this multitude would not merit having human hands if it would not learn to grasp a rifle, a dagger, or a pistol to make good the independence of Puerto Rico."

A confidential, reliable informant has furnished information which indicates that Albizu Campos is endeavoring to formulate plans for an Island-wide, armed revolt to take place in the next three or four months.

It is evident that if a Selective Service Statute should again be enacted by the Congress of the United States and made applicable to Puerto Rico, Albizu Campos will counsel evasion. All officers administering and enforcing Selective Service laws may be placed in danger if the Nationalist Party members carry out the instructions of Albizu Campos to resort to violence in resisting compulsory military service.

Local Puerto Rican authorities are interested in the Nationalist Party and its leader, and it is believed that they will act promptly if any violence occurs.



UNITED STATES  
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR  
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY  
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

APR 21 1948

Personal and Confidential

My dear Mr. Hoover:

I wish to acknowledge and thank you for your communication  
of April 16 concerning Pedro Albizu Campos.

Sincerely yours,

*J. H. T. rug*  
Secretary of the Interior.

Hon. J. Edgar Hoover, Director,  
Federal Bureau of Investigation.

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 4-19-00 BY SP4BJA-MLB  
*adm.*

705-11818-  
112  
NOT RECORDED  
MAY 1 1948

290





United States Department of Justice  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
New York 7, New York



IN REPLY, PLEASE REFER TO

FILE NO. \_\_\_\_\_

April 27, 1948

Director, FBI

Re: PEDRO ALBIZU CAMPOS, was.  
INTERNAL SECURITY - N

Dear Sir:

The captioned individual, the subject of a Security Index card heretofore maintained at this office, has moved to an address within another Field Division. The Bureau is requested to correct the Security Index card maintained at the Seat of Government, and the Field Division for which copies hereof are designated below is requested to prepare for inclusion in its Security Index card file a Security Index card captioned as follows and bearing the appropriate case file number:

CAMPOS, PEDRO ALBIZU  
aliases:  
Pedro Albizu-Campos  
Pedro Albizu

NATIVE BORN

COMMUNIST

San Juan, Puerto Rico (Res.)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/22/81 BY 2842 PmV/BTS/KS  
6/23/86 SP-1 AG/ND (26400)

The following copies of serials containing important information concerning the subject are being forwarded to the Field Division covering subject's new address, together with its copies of this letter:

Three copies of the report of Special Agent Alfred B. Novak dated April 27, 1948 at New York, New York.

Photograph and handwriting specimen of \_\_\_\_\_  
furnished the Bureau.

RECORDED

21 APR 28 1948

In view of the fact that the \_\_\_\_\_ San Juan \_\_\_\_\_ Field Division has verified the present residence of the subject in its Division, this office is considering \_\_\_\_\_ San Juan \_\_\_\_\_ as the new office of origin, and this case is being RUC'd to that office with the submission of this communication.

Very truly yours,

ABN:WJF

100-47403

2001

San Juan

Field Division (Enc. 3)

EDWARD SCHLEIDT  
SAC

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **SAN JUAN**

NY FILE NO. 100-47403 BEA

REPORT MADE AT <b>NEW YORK</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>4/27/48</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>12/11, 12/47; 1/14; 3/9; 4/10/48</b>	REPORT MADE BY <b>ALFRED B. NOVAK</b>
TITLE  <b>PEDRO ALBIZU CAMPOS, was.</b>			CHARACTER OF CASE  <b>INTERNAL SECURITY - N</b>

**SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:**

CAMPOS departed from NYC 12/12/47 for San Juan. Informant states reaction in NYC is that CAMPOS will exploit sentimentalism of the Puerto Ricans and may detract somewhat from Communist program for independence of Puerto Rico.

- R U C -

**REFERENCE:**

Bureau letter to San Juan, 2/20/48.  
San Juan letter to New York, 2/25/48.

**DETAILS:**

Former Confidential Informant [redacted] advised that on December 9, 1947 two members of the Manhattan Junta of the Nationalist Party approached him and solicited a contribution of \$25 to a fund to help pay for the transportation of PEDRO ALBIZU CAMPOS, President of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico from New York City to San Juan. The informant was told that CAMPOS expected to leave New York City on December 11, 1947 via Pan American Airways. (u)

As a result of a physical surveillance it was determined that CAMPOS, together with three Puerto Ricans, proceeded by taxicab from the apartment building at 319 West 13th Street to the Bull Steamship Lines pier at the foot of Atlantic Avenue, Brooklyn, New York, shortly after 3 PM on December 11, 1947.

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: <i>[Signature]</i> SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	ENCLOSURE DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES <b>105-11313-112</b> <b>162-4451</b> <b>APR 28 1948</b>	RECORDED & INDEXED <i>[Signature]</i>
COPIES OF THIS REPORT  - Bureau San Juan (100-3906) New York		

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/22/81 BY 2843  
b2 b7D  
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b7Z

NY 100-47403

b7C  
b7D CAMPOS and the three individuals boarded the SS Kathryn and proceeded to Cabin 4 on the port side of the ship. From [REDACTED] Bull Steamship Lines it was determined that CAMPOS was sharing this cabin with ANGEL CARLO TORO, who arranged for passage for himself and CAMPOS, saying that he was CAMPOS' nephew. [REDACTED] stated that TORO was extremely anxious to insure passage for CAMPOS and himself on the same boat, saying that CAMPOS could travel only by boat on account of his health, and TORO offered to pay the plane passage for any passenger inconvenienced by booking himself and CAMPOS together in the same cabin.

According to Confidential Informant T-1 CAMPOS was carrying with him four large envelopes containing pamphlets, publications, and documents of the Trusteeship Committee of the United Nations dealing principally with colonial problems.

✓ One of the men who accompanied CAMPOS and TORO to the ship was RAMON MEDINA RAMIREZ, Acting Secretary General of the Nationalist Party and delegate of the Party to the United States. According to Mr. KENNEDY, CAMPOS had a succession of visitors in his cabin prior to the ship's departure. KENNEDY advised that these visitors consisted mainly of members of the ship's crew. The SS Kathryn departed from New York City at 1:50 AM on December 12, 1947.

b2  
b7D Confidential Informant [REDACTED] advised that CAMPOS' departure from New York City aroused little comment in the Puerto Rican section of New York City, although he stated that certain of the Puerto Rican Communists were a little disturbed and expressed the opinion that CAMPOS on arriving in Puerto Rico would no doubt exploit the sentimentalism of the Puerto Ricans and attempt to gain publicity that might detract from the Communist program for the independence of Puerto Rico. According to [REDACTED] JUAN EMMANUELLI, leader of the Lower Harlem Section of the Communist Party, declared that CAMPOS was nothing but a Fascist and that although his return to Puerto Rico would undoubtedly create a sensation he hoped that the majority of the Puerto Ricans would not tolerate a rebirth of the old Nationalist Party but would rather look towards the Communists for leadership in securing freedom for Puerto Rico.

At the time of the departure of CAMPOS the following physical description was obtained from observation:

Name  
Race

PEDRO ALBIZU CAMPOS  
Mulatto

NY 100-47403

Age	56 Years
Height	5'6"
Weight	140 lbs.
Build	Slim
Eyes	Brown
Hair	Bushy, wavy black hair, streaked with gray
Features	Black Moustache

By reference letter from San Juan that office advised that CAMPOS intends to reside permanently in Puerto Rico, and this case is accordingly being considered referred upon completion to the office of origin.

REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN .

NY 100-47403

CONFIDENTIAL INFORMANT

The Confidential Informant mentioned in the report of SA ALFRED B. NOVAK dated April 27, 1948 at New York, N. Y. is as follows:

T-1: A highly confidential and reliable source having access to the wardrobe trunk of the subject at the time of his departure and furnishing information regarding same to Special Agents JOSEPH V. WATERS and ALFRED B. NOVAK.

SAC, San Juan

May 18, 1948

Director, FBI

**194**  
PEDRO ALBIZU CAMPOS  
OVERTHROW OR DESTRUCTION OF GOVERNMENT  
CONSPIRACY  
(3-1)

RECORDED  
III

Re: rep ASAC Jack West dated May 4, 1948, at San Juan.

Please furnish the Bureau an additional copy of this report.

APC:ofm

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED**

**DATE** 5/22/81 **BY** 2842 PMV/PTJ/RU

6/23/86 SP-1 AG/RU C#264006

EX-104

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Egan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gurnea \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Pennington \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

23

402

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT

San Juan

SJ

FILE NO.

3-1

REPORT MADE AT San Juan, P. R.	DATE WHEN MADE 5/4/48	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 12/15/47 - 4/9/48	REPORT MADE BY ASAC JACK WEST
TITLE <b>PEDRO ALBIZU CANPOS</b>		CHARACTER OF CASE <b>1-8313</b> <b>OVERTHROW OR DESTRUCTION OF GOVERNMENT; CONSPIRACY</b>	
SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: <p>Background data set forth concerning personal and political history of Subject, evolution of Nationalist political theories, early tactics and acts of violence in the 30s, formation of the Liberating Army of the Republic, and the eventual trial and conviction of Subject for conspiracy to overthrow the United States Government. ALBIZU returned to Puerto Rico 12/15/47 and immediately resumed active directorship Nationalist Party. In speeches and press conferences he has demanded the immediate withdrawal of all United States armed forces from Puerto Rico, urged all Puerto Ricans to refrain from voting in the coming (November) elections, preached non-compliance with United States laws, including any compulsory military service act which might be passed, requested that Puerto Ricans insist their children not be taught in English, repudiated American democracy which allows discrimination, described his efforts to achieve United Nations intervention on behalf of Puerto Rico, exhorted the people to bring about independence by force, even at the sacrifice of life, justified revolution if the tyranny of the United States cannot be abolished through peaceful means. Uniformed Cadets of the "Liberating Army" were seen on the day Subject returned to Puerto Rico, and at the Nationalist meetings at Ponce and Cabo Rojo on 3/21/48 and 4/8/48, respectively. They ranged in number from 27 to 92, and were under the command of RAFAEL DIAZ RACHECO. A secret informant has advised that the Subject is plotting an uprising to take place in the next few months. The Nationalist in charge of this plot is RUFINO ROLON. Subject is living at the Hotel Normandie as the non-paying guest of its owner, anti-American contracting engineer FELIX BENITEZ REXACH.</p>			
- P -			
Reference: San Juan letter dated 3/29/48.			
APPROVED AND FORWARDED: <i>[Signature]</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES	
COPIES OF THIS REPORT 6 Bureau (encl) 1 USA San Juan 1 ONI San Juan 1 G-2 San Juan 6 San Juan		RECORDED INDEXED EX-3	

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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INTRODUCTION

The Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico has been spoken of as "the lengthened shadow of one man -- PEDRO ALBIZU CAMPOS." ALBIZU CAMPOS is again in Puerto Rico and has given tremendous stimulus to the internal operations and external manifestations of the Nationalist Party. It is desirable at this time to briefly review PEDRO ALBIZU CAMPOS' history in order to better evaluate his present day activities, policies, and attitudes, always faithfully and accurately reflected by the membership of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

I

BACKGROUND DATA

1 4316

A. PERSONAL

✓ PEDRO ALBIZU CAMPOS, a mulatto, was born September 12, 1891 in Ponce, Puerto Rico. He is the illegitimate son of a white father and a Negro mother. After his graduation from high school in Ponce he was granted a scholarship to the University of Vermont. That institution gave him a scholarship to Harvard University, from which school he received the degrees of AB and CE in 1917. In May, 1917 he voluntarily entered the United States Army, was later commissioned a first lieutenant in a Negro regiment, and transferred to Puerto Rico.

ALBIZU CAMPOS considered himself a "white Puerto Rican" and was much embittered by the decision of the United States Army Examining Physicians that he was of the colored race, and therefore subject to assignment with Negro troops. Many competent observers believe that ALBIZU CAMPOS' anti-American attitude, and, specifically, his persistent and indefatigable condemnation of racial prejudice in the United States stem mainly from this experience.

Upon his honorable discharge from the United States Army in April, 1918 he was offered a first lieutenant's commission in the Reserve Corps, but it was refused.

Re-entering Harvard University, he received an LLB Degree in 1921 and thereafter studied military science under the French Military Mission in the United States, and at the Military Academy of Massachusetts.

He married LAURA MENESES (Doctor of Natural Sciences, Harvard) a Peruvian, and has three children by her. She and the children are now living in Lima, Perú.

B. POLITICAL

ALBIZU returned to Puerto Rico and joined the Union Party in 1921. He left this party a few months after joining, disgusted with its weak stand on behalf of Puerto Rican independence. Later he went with the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico, organized in 1922 and composed of the radical independentist element of the Union Party.

From 1927 to 1929 ALBIZU toured eleven Latin American countries preaching Puerto Rican independence on behalf of the Nationalist Party. On May 11, 1930 he was elected President of the Nationalist Party, a weak

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

**CONFIDENTIAL**

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and ineffectual political group at that time. He has been the president of that party continuously since his election to that post in 1930. During ALBIZU's absence from Puerto Rico, "Acting Presidents" have managed the affairs of the Party, but the policy of that political organization was at all times directed by ALBIZU, who was considered the virtual dictator of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico.

C. NATIONALIST DOCTRINE EVOLVED

Once in control of the Nationalist Party, ALBIZU began to provide the organization with a set of juridical principles upon which it could base a demand for independence. His main thesis was that the Treaty of Paris (1898) by which Spain ceded Puerto Rico to the United States after the Spanish American War, was invalid. He argued that under the Autonomic Charter granted to Puerto Rico by the Spanish Government on November 25, 1897, the Constitution of Puerto Rico could not be modified without due process of law and upon petition of the Insular Government. ALBIZU reasoned that since the Insular Parliament of Puerto Rico was not consulted in connection with the Treaty of Paris, and because it did not agree to the disposition made of Puerto Rico by the Treaty, the provisions of that treaty ceding Puerto Rico to the United States were null and void. He contended that Puerto Rico was a free and autonomous country when it was "invaded" by the Americans in 1898, and called for the "rescue" of Puerto Rican sovereignty.

(From this it might be assumed that the Nationalist Party dates the sovereignty of Puerto Rico to the Autonomic Charter, but such is not the case. Statements and documents issued by the Party set the commencement of the "Republic of Puerto Rico" back to the Lares Revolt of September 23, 1868. This was a small uprising quickly put down by the Spanish Government forces in Puerto Rico.)

Corollaries of the above postulate were that the United States has no sovereignty in Puerto Rico; that the laws of the United States are void in Puerto Rico; that all United States Courts, officers, employees, and agencies, have no jurisdiction in Puerto Rico; that the presence of United States armed forces and governmental institutions in the Island constitute a continuing, illegal "occupation" for which a heavy indemnity will be demanded when the United States eventually recognizes Puerto Rican sovereignty and withdraws its forces.

In furtherance of the theory of the sovereignty of Puerto Rico and to raise funds for the party, ALBIZU conceived the idea of issuing

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bonds in the name of "The Republic of Puerto Rico." On November 16, 1930 the Nationalist Party printed \$100,000 in bonds accruing interest from the date "of international recognition of the Republic," and maturing five years after that date. The picture of ALBIZU and other Nationalists appeared on certain denominations of the bonds.

#### D. EARLY TACTICS

Shortly after assuming leadership of the Nationalist Party, ALBIZU expressed his desire to appear before the League of Nations at Geneva to argue for Puerto Rico's independence. Failing this, he toured the Island extensively in 1931 and 1932 and decided to test his party's strength at the polls in the general elections of November, 1932. Although his audiences at every Nationalist Party political meeting had been large, the party polled only 5,257 votes, and ALBIZU, who was running for Senator-at-Large, received only a little over 10,000 votes of a total of 384,627. ALBIZU immediately charged the Insular Board of Elections with "fixing" the election and since that date has consistently urged Puerto Ricans to refrain from voting in elections.

During 1932 ALBIZU ordered the formation of the "Liberating Army of the Republic." He was living at that time as the "President" of the Republic of Puerto Rico at Aguas Buenas, surrounded by his "cabinet" and a small armed guard.

#### E. RESORT TO VIOLENCE

From the first, ALBIZU had had several courses of action open to him as the leader of a colonial party seeking the independence of its homeland. (1) Appeal to the League of Nations. This did not materialize. (2) Civil disobedience. This was rejected as being contrary to the temper of the people. (3) Political control through the ballot. This was attempted with disastrous results. (4) Violence in the manner of the Irish Republican Army. By choice or necessity ALBIZU chose the latter.

Some of the more notorious acts of violence performed by Nationalist Party members in implementation of ALBIZU's forensic appeals are described below.

##### 1. March on the Capitol

On April 16, 1932 ALBIZU addressed a public meeting of the Nationalist Party in San Juan and incited his audience to march on the capitol

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where the Puerto Rican Senate was then holding a night session. The Senate had under consideration a bill to make the flag which had been used by the Nationalists the official flag of Puerto Rico. ALBIZU stated in his speech that the Nationalist flag had been registered at the office of the Executive Secretary of the Governor in 1922 as the Party's official flag and therefore it was absolutely prohibited for anyone to use this flag except the Nationalist Party. He went on to say that if the Senate were to make this emblem the official flag of a colony of the United States, it would thereby insult the Nationalist Party, and all those Puerto Ricans who had died fighting for independence under that flag. At that point he read the names of the Senators who were in favor of the bill and asked, "What shall we do?" The audience shouted, "Let's hang them." Whereupon ALBIZU yelled, "To the Capitol then!" The Nationalists taking part in this meeting armed themselves with wooden clubs and marching with ALBIZU proceeded to the Capitol building where they jammed the building to such a degree that a stairway collapsed, killing RAFAEL MANUEL SUÑEZ DIAZ, a Nationalist Party member, and injuring twelve other persons.

## 2. The "Río Piedras Massacre"

Prior to October, 1935 the Nationalist Party is reported to have secured the support of approximately 90% of the student body of the University of Puerto Rico located in Río Piedras. It appears that until that date ALBIZU relied upon the youth of the youth of the Island, especially upon the more educated members of the youth, for the strength and support of his party; however, evidently not being satisfied with the degree of assistance being rendered to him by these students, he, in a radio address on October 20, 1935, made several scurrilous and insulting remarks concerning the students of the University of Puerto Rico. He referred to the female members of that institution as prostitutes, and the males as homosexuals. In response to these charges, the students decided to hold a meeting on October 24, 1935 in the Assembly Hall of the University in order to protest this speech, and to declare ALBIZU a persona non grata. The Acting Chancellor of the University, fearing a clash between the students and members of the Nationalist Party, requested the Insular Police to attend this gathering in order that harmful demonstrations might not result.

The police officers dispatched to the scene observed an automobile traveling about the campus in which five known Nationalist Party members were riding. The Police stopped this car and asked the driver for his license. Upon his failure to produce it, two officers mounted the running boards of the car and ordered the driver to proceed to the Río Piedras Police Station. Several additional police officers followed the automobile

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in a police car. Without warning, RAMON S. PAGAN, the driver of the Nationalist car, shot the police officer who was standing on the left running board. The police in the car following began shooting, and as a result of this action, four Nationalists, a police officer, and an innocent bystander were killed. Six automatic pistols, one stamped "Property of the U. S. Government," and sixty-one rounds of ammunition were recovered by the Insular Police.

At the funeral service for the four Nationalists, ALBIZU delivered a fiery oration in which he martyred the deceased party members and demanded that the Nationalists gathered there swear an oath of vengeance against those responsible for the death of their comrades. He placed the blame for the "Rio Piedras Massacre" on Colonel ELISHA FRANCIS RIGGS, Chief of the Insular Police of Puerto Rico, a retired Colonel of the United States Army.

### 3. Bombings in 1935

During 1935 six bombings occurred in Puerto Rico, all of which were attributed to the Nationalist Party by the Insular Police, although sufficient evidence was never secured to support prosecution. The majority of the buildings bombed were the Property of the United States Government, the Insular Government of Puerto Rico, or private American concerns on the Island. Furthermore, all of these bombings took place either on official United States holidays, which are not recognized by the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico, or immediately following public addresses made by ALBIZU and other Nationalist leaders.

### 4. Colonel RIGGS Assassinated

On February 23, 1936, almost four months to the day after the four Nationalists were killed at Rio Piedras, the Chief of the Insular Police of Puerto Rico, Colonel RIGGS, was assassinated by two Nationalists, ELIAS BEAUCHAMP and HIRAM ROSALO. RIGGS' assassins were captured by the Insular Police, and were subsequently killed by the police when they allegedly endeavored to resist detainment at Police Headquarters in San Juan.

It was reported that upon his arrest, ELIAS BEAUCHAMP had made a statement orally to the Police that he had killed Colonel RIGGS in fulfillment of the oath taken at the instance of ALBIZU during the funeral ceremonies of the Nationalists killed at Rio Piedras.

On the night of February 23, 1936, FRANCISCO VELEZ ORTIZ, District Chief of Police at Utuado, Puerto Rico, was seriously wounded in a murder

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attempt made against him by ANGEL MARIO MARTINEZ, a Nationalist. This action was also believed to have been made in fulfillment of the oath of vengeance evoked by ALBIZU at the funeral described above. MARTINEZ was killed in the exchange of shots with Chief VELEZ ORTIZ.

#### 5. The "Ponce Massacre"

On March 21, 1937 the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico ordered a "concentration of divisions" of the "Liberating Army" to parade and demonstrate in Ponce, Puerto Rico. Permission for this meeting was denied by the Insular authorities, and in the Nationalists' attempt to carry out the demonstration despite official objection, a gun battle ensued between approximately 35 police officers and 80 Nationalists. Nine Nationalists, ten innocent bystanders, and two police officers were killed during the ten minute gun battle. About one hundred people were wounded.

#### 6. Attempt to Assassinate Federal Judge

On June 8, 1937 a group of Nationalists attempted to kill Federal Judge ROBERT A. COOPER by ambushing the automobile in which he was riding and subjecting it to small arms fire. Neither COOPER nor anyone in the car with him was hit, although some shots passed through the vehicle. Ten Nationalist Party members were convicted and sentenced to Federal prison for this crime.

#### 7. Attempt to Assassinate Governor

On July 25, 1938 a parade was held in Ponce, Puerto Rico for the purpose of commemorating the anniversary of the landing of American troops in Puerto Rico on July 25, 1898. Governor BLANTON WINSHIP was on the reviewing stand with approximately twenty other government officials and was about to speak, when several shots were fired in his direction by individuals scattered throughout the crowd. Although the Governor was not injured Colonel LUIS A. IRIZARRY of the Puerto Rican National Guard was killed. One member of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico was killed in the return fire of the Insular Police. In addition, eleven persons on the speakers' platform, and approximately 20 individuals in the crowd, received bullet wounds. Six members of the Nationalist Party were convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment by the Insular Courts. They were all paroled on January 9, 1946 by Governor REXFORD GUY-TUGWELL, after they had served eight years of their sentences. One of this group, TOMAS LOPEZ DE VICTORIA LABOY, was granted a full pardon and restoration of civil rights by Governor JESUS T. PIÑERO on September 18, 1946.

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F. LIBERATING ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC

In 1932 the "Liberating Army of the Republic," which has been officially and variously designated by the Nationalists as the "Army of Liberation," the "Army of the Republic," and the "Cadets of the Republic," was founded by ALBIZU, who served as its Commander in Chief. This militant section of the Party is reported to have established small militias in many of the larger cities and towns of Puerto Rico in 1935. During the trial of PEDRO ALBIZU CAMPOS and his co-conspirators in 1936 it was the contention of the Government that the "Liberating Army of the Republic" was organized for the purpose of teaching the principles of military tactics and for the purpose of one day attempting to overthrow the United States Government.

On August 11, 1935 ALBIZU spoke at a public meeting of the Nationalist Party at Canóvanas, Puerto Rico, and among other things, stated the following:

"There is no reason that there should be postponed for a moment the duty to impose independence by armed force if it should be necessary. Great interests are not defended with words. The word has a great transcendence, but it is deeds that count, and the country must be certain that we are to die for our freedom. The country has to arm itself. Independence is attained with arms in one's hands. Each man in Puerto Rico must devote himself to defend its honor so that heroism will bless them, so that they have no frailty, so that treason is dead in history on account of his cowardice."

On October 20, 1935, ALBIZU CAMPOS, in a radio speech at Maunabo, Puerto Rico, stated the following in connection with the Liberating Army of the Republic:

"Some night here, we will rise. We do not fear them. We have not seen the Yankee kindness; there is nothing more than banditry, the ruin of an entire country. There must be placed into the hands of each Puerto Rican a dagger, an arm, in order that he may validate the rights of his country; that they (meaning the Americans) may tremble today but tomorrow the fright may have passed."

On January 8, 1936 the following decree of the National Board of the Nationalist Party, signed by ALBIZU, President, was issued:

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"DECREE OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL

"INASMUCH AS: At the last General and Public Assembly of the Nationalists which took place in the City of Caguas, Universal compulsory military service was decreed as a necessity for the immediate National Defense:

"THEREFORE: The National Board decrees: First, all Nationalists over eighteen years of age shall enroll in the corresponding book of registry open in each Municipal Board and will sign said book and the page of military service in accordance with instructions from circulars from the office of the General Secretary. Second, the enlistment will be carried out according to the terms of the circulars from the office of the General Secretary during the fortnight between the 7th of January, 1936, and the 22nd of January, 1936.

"Given at San Juan, Puerto Rico, the 1st day of January, 1936, the sixty-eighth of the Proclamation of the Republic."

In January, 1936, ALBIZU CAMPOS caused a recruiting office to be erected in a public passage between two of the principal streets in San Juan. The party called for volunteers to enlist in its ranks and requested contributions for the purchase of arms and ammunition. Posters in evidence at that time urged that "every good citizen be a patriot and join the Army of Liberation."

Similar recruiting stations were set up throughout the Island during the month of January, 1936 and during that period hundreds of handbills were disseminated throughout Puerto Rico calling upon Nationalists to refrain from voting in the Insular elections and to enlist in the ranks of the Liberating Army.

During this recruitment period the membership in the party is said to have grown to a considerable degree. It is reported that members of the Liberating Army of the Republic could be seen on Puerto Rican streets several times weekly drilling in accordance with the directions of their leaders. Advice has likewise been received to the effect that these "Cadets of the Republic" were made "to take the oath of allegiance to defend and support the Republic of Puerto Rico against all enemies, foreign and domestic, and were made to authorize the leaders of the party to dispose of their - the recruits' - lives, as they, the leaders, see fit, if they, the recruits, become traitors."

On February 19, 1936, information was received indicating that every city and town on the Island had in operation a military branch of the Party's "Liberating Army of the Republic."

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In furtherance of his objective, ALBIZU CAMPOS created a feminine section of the party known as the "Daughters of Independence." The female officers in charge of this section were regular registered nurses or college graduates whose chief duties were to train the "Daughters of Independence" in becoming experienced in dressing wounds and otherwise caring for injured members of Albizu Campos' "army."

#### G. CONSPIRACY TRIAL AND CONVICTIONS

After considering the circumstances surrounding the formation and activities of the "Liberating Army of the Republic" created by the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico under the aegis of ALBIZU, the U. S. Grand Jury at San Juan, Puerto Rico, on 3/12/36 returned an indictment in three counts against ALBIZU and eight other Nationalist Party leaders. This indictment charged violations of sections 4, 6, 7, and 8 of Title 18, U. S. Code. ALBIZU and 7 other leaders of the party were found guilty on July 31, 1936 of attempting to overthrow the U. S. Government by force and violence. ALBIZU was found guilty on all three counts and received an actual sentence of six years and a suspended sentence of four years and probation during that period.

All the other defendants, with the exception of RAFAEL ORTIZ PACHECO, who fled the country, were convicted on two or more counts, and received actual sentences ranging from four to six years. Some years later ORTIZ PACHECO returned to Puerto Rico. In the meantime he had renounced the Nationalist Party, and Federal prosecution against him had been dismissed.

For ready reference, and in order to compare past overt acts with his contemporary activities and statements appearing in Part II of this report, the counts of the conspiracy indictment are quoted below in their entirety:

#### "First Count

"That Pedro Albizu Campos, Juan Antonio Corretjer, Luis F. Velazquez, Rafael Ortiz Pacheco, Julio H. Velazquez, Clemente Soto Vélaz, Juan Gallardo Santiago, Pablo Rosado Ortiz, and Erasmo Velazquez, from on or about May 1, 1933, to April 3, 1936, at San Juan, Caguas, Aguas Buenas, and other places, conspired between themselves and with other unknown persons, to overthrow and oppose by force the Government of the United States, it being part of the said conspiracy that:

"They, being leaders, officers, active members, and in control of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico, a political party

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organized under the laws of the Island, and composed of a large number of persons, would procure, induce, incite and encourage the members of the said party to bring about the independence of Puerto Rico from the United States, by force and violence and by an armed revolution that:

"They, by speeches, letters, decrees and other writings, would publicly declare and attempt to persuade others that the so-called republic of Puerto Rico came into existence on or about September 3, 1868 and thereafter always has been and is legally in existence in Puerto Rico with the sovereign powers of Government; that:

"They would set up in Puerto Rico the so-called republic of Puerto Rico, and Albizu Campos would issue documents purporting to be of an official character of the so-called Republic of Puerto Rico; that:

"They would utilize the organization of the Nationalist Party, its National Council and the various Municipal Councils throughout the Island, to bring about the political independence of Puerto Rico by force and violence and by armed revolution against the United States; that:

"They, in personal solicitations, public speeches and in writing would persistently and continuously urge the other members of the party and the people of Puerto Rico, to arm themselves in order to bring about the political independence of Puerto Rico; that:

"They would procure and cause to be procured by members of the said Nationalist Party, certain firearms, ammunition, and other military equipment for the aforesaid purpose; that:

"They would establish, maintain, and cause to be established and maintained, recruiting stations in the cities of Caguas, Humacao, Mayaguez, San Juan, and other towns in Puerto Rico, to recruit and enlist members of the said Nationalist Party as soldiers for military service in a so-called Liberating Army, and that:

"They would in San Juan, Santurce, Río Piedras, Loíza, and other cities in Puerto Rico, direct and drill and cause to be directed and drilled in military formation, various groups of members of the said party designated as Cadets of the Republic or enlisted soldiers in the Liberating Army, including instructions in the use of firearms and other weapons, all for the aforesaid purpose, and in violation of Section 6, Title 18, of the U. S. Code.

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"Second Count

"Charges that Pedro Albizu Campos, Juan Antonio Corretjer, Luis F. Velazquez, Rafael Ortiz Pacheco, Julio H. Hernández, Clemente Soto Velez, Juan Gallardo Santiago, Pablo Rosado Ortiz and Erasmo Velazquez, from on or about May 1, 1933, to April 3, 1946, at San Juan, Caguas, Aguas Buenas, and other places, conspired between themselves and with others to the Grand Jurors unknown, to incite rebellion and insurrection against the authorities and laws of the United States, and that they in furtherance of the said conspiracy committed the following overt acts:

- "1 - On June 22, 1934, at San Juan, Puerto Rico, Pedro Albizu Campos delivered a speech and made statements to the effect that each Puerto Rican house should be an arsenal of arms in case Puerto Ricans were attacked by Americans or any nation which should care to invade or impose itself on Puerto Rico.
- "2 - On October 19 and November 4, 1935 and on or about every seventh day thereafter, Juan Antonio Corretjer, printed, published, sold; and circulated 'La Palabra,' which contained articles, written statements and accounts of speeches, urging, inciting, and exhorting the people of Puerto Rico to arm themselves in order to bring about the political independence of Puerto Rico.
- "3 - On October 25, 1935, in the cemetery known as Seboruco in the Santurce Ward of San Juan, Puerto Rico, Pedro Albizu Campos delivered an oration during the course of which he made certain statements inciting rebellion and insurrection against the United States.
- "4 - On November 3, 1935, at San Juan, P. R., Pedro Albizu Campos submitted to the official in charge of the radio station known as WKAQ for approval and broadcast the original in the Spanish language of a 'Declaration of Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico in extraordinary joint session with the Municipal Councils thereof at Aguas Buenas, on October 30, 1935, the sixty-eighth year of the Proclamation of the Republic,' containing certain specific statements tending to incite rebellion and insurrection.
- "5 - On February 24, 1936, Pedro Albizu Campos, in the cemetery located in Santurce, a ward of San Juan, Puerto Rico,

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delivered an oration making certain specific statements for the purpose of inciting rebellion and insurrection.

- "6 - On November 22, 1935, in Humacao, Puerto Rico, Clemente Soto Velez delivered a speech during which he stated in substance that a state of war actually exists in Puerto Rico and that everybody would rise in arms against the American Government.
- "7 - On October 3, 1935, at Caguas, Puerto Rico, Pedro Albizu Campos delivered a speech, making amongst others, statements to the effect that he was at the head of the said party with the purpose that if independence was not given to Puerto Rico in one way, they would take it in another, etc., and that certain members of the Nationalist Party should be recruited in order to proclaim the Puerto Rican republic on a day not far away.
- "8 - On January 15, 1936, Clemente Soto Velez and Erasmo Velazquez, at Caguas, Puerto Rico, printed, published, and distributed a certain circular titled, 'Puerto Rican Socialists, Republicans, Liberals, Communists.....'
- "9 - On March 1, 1936, and other dates, at Caguas, Puerto Rico, Clemente Soto Velez printed and published and circulated a certain newspaper known as 'Armas,' urging and inciting members of the Nationalist Party and the people of Puerto Rico to arm themselves in order to bring about the political independence of Puerto Rico from the United States of America, by force and violence and by an armed revolution against the United States.

In violation of Sections 4 and 88 of Title 18, U. S. Code.

"Third Count

"Charges that Pedro Albizu Campos, Juan Antonio Corretjer, Luis F. Velazquez, Rafael Ortiz Pacheco, Julio H. Velazquez, Clemente Soto Velez, Erasmo Velazquez, Juan Gallardo Santiago, and Pablo Rosado Ortiz did conspire between themselves and with other persons unknown, to engage in armed hostility against the United States, and open in Puerto Rico recruiting stations for the enlistment of soldiers for the purpose, and that in furtherance of the said conspiracy committed the following overt acts:

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- "1 - During the aforesaid period of time, the defendants committed the acts, alleged as overt acts in the second counts of the indictment.
- "2 - On various dates during the aforesaid period of time, the defendants, at San Juan, Puerto Rico, and other cities directed and drilled in military formation, various groups of members of the Nationalist Party, designated as Cadets of the Republic, or enlisted soldiers of the Army of Liberation, and gave the said groups of men military instructions, including the use of firearms and other weapons.
- "3 - On December 8, 1935, at Caguas, Puerto Rico, at the Convention of the Nationalist Party, the defendants caused the adoption of a resolution providing that the Nationalist Party should open recruiting stations to be located at the headquarters of each Municipal Council so as to register, enlist, and recruit members of said party and other men, as soldiers in a military organization to be known as the Liberating Army with the purpose of engaging in armed hostility against the United States.
- "4 - On January 1, 1936, pursuant to said resolution, Pedro Albizu Campos and Juan Antonio Corripio, issued at San Juan and circulated, a printed decree, proclamation or statement, entitled 'Nationalism Calls its Men to Immediate Military Organization for National Defense.'
- "5 - On various dates, in San Juan, Rafael Ortiz Pacheco as Chief of Instruction of the Cadets of the Republic and Liberating Army, and Julio H. Velazquez, as Commander of Infantry and Adjutant of Chief of Instructions, issued to groups of men of the said Cadets of the Republic and Liberating Army various instructions for military training.
- "6 - Beginning January 7 and ending on January 22, 1936, at Caguas, Puerto Rico, Clemente Soto Velez and Erasmo Velazquez opened and caused to be opened a recruiting station.
- "7 - From January 7 to January 22, 1936, persons unknown, as individuals and on behalf of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico, opened and caused to be opened a recruiting station.

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- "8 - From January 7 to January 22, 1936, at Mayaguez, Puerto Rico, Juan Gallardo Santiago, individually and on behalf of the Nationalist Party, opened a recruiting station.
- "9 - From January 7 to January 22, 1936, at Rio Piedras, persons unknown, individually and on behalf of the Nationalist Party, opened a recruiting station.
- "10 - From January 7 to January 22, 1936, at San Juan, Pablo Rosado Ortiz, individually and on behalf of the Nationalist Party, opened a recruiting station.
- "11 - From January 7 to January 22, 1936, at Santurce, a suburb of San Juan, persons unknown individually and on behalf of the Nationalist Party, opened a recruiting station.

In violation of Sections 7 and 88, Title 18, U. S. Code."

An unsuccessful attempt was made by ALBIZU to appeal his conviction to the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals at Boston. On June 7, 1937, all legal appeals having failed, he was taken to Atlanta Penitentiary to begin his prison sentence. On June 8, 1937, the day after he was delivered to the United States, an attempt was made against the life of Federal Judge ROBERT A. COOPER (above) by whom ALBIZU CAMPOS had been sentenced.

#### H. RELEASE FROM PRISON

Upon ALBIZU's release from the Federal Penitentiary at Atlanta, Georgia, on June 3, 1943, he proceeded to New York City with JUAN ANTONIO CORRETTIER, and shortly thereafter made contact with EARL BROWDER, then Secretary General of the Communist Party - USA. ALBIZU also went into conference with Congressman VITO MARCANTONIO, who functioned as ALBIZU's attorney while the latter was in the United States. ALBIZU entered Columbus Hospital on June 8, 1943 to receive treatment for "heart trouble," and for his left arm, which he alleged was paralyzed. Doctors reported, however, that he was not suffering from either heart trouble or a disabled arm. It was believed that the only reason for his self-prescribed hospitalization was to play the role of the martyr and to avoid complying with the conditions of his probation. ALBIZU admitted to a member of the Party that he was feigning illness to deceive the U. S. Government. He remained in continuous contact with leaders of the Nationalist Party in New York and Puerto Rico directing Policy, occasionally reshuffling the officers and keeping up correspondence with Party chieftains.

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Early in 1944 he removed JUAN ANTONIO CORRETJER from the Nationalist Party, reportedly because the latter had become too Communistic in thought and action. He also dropped RAFAEL LOPEZ ROSAS and CLIENTE SOTO VELEZ from the Party for the same reason, and at that time closed the Bronx Municipal Board of the Nationalist Party. Certain members of the Party were of the opinion at the time Albizu expelled Corretjer that he took this action because he feared Corretjer was attempting to overshadow him. To illustrate the control maintained by Albizu over the Nationalist Party's activities in Puerto Rico, it is known that he directed a letter in April, 1944 to PEDRO PEREZ PAGAN, then acting President of the Party, censoring him for taking action without the sanction of the "Supreme Command." (P)(u)

During the time ALBIZU was in the hospital the Nationalist Party in Puerto Rico conducted energetic fund-raising campaigns and succeeded in raising several hundred dollars to help defray the subject's expenses. It was reliably reported that for a considerable period of time the subject's hospital bills had been borne by the Communist Party USA on the theory that Albizu's good will was a valuable propaganda asset. (P)(u)

On July 15, 1945 ALBIZU was re-elected President in Absencia of the Nationalist Party at that Party's annual convention in San Juan, Puerto Rico.

After ALBIZU left the hospital he lived in New York City with JUAN ALAMODIAZ, one of the ten individuals convicted for attempting to assassinate Federal Judge COOPER. Later, ALBIZU moved in with RAMON MEDINA RAMIREZ, former Acting President of the Nationalist Party, and presently Editor in Chief of the Nationalist Party's "Revista Puerto Rico" (Puerto Rico Magazine) published in New York City. In October, 1946 he moved to 319 West 13th Street, New York, where he lived with Miss LOLIN QUINTANA, his personal secretary.

In 1946 indications were that ALBIZU was losing his popularity among Puerto Ricans in New York. One criticism of him was that he was more interested in proselyting among Americans who might back the Nationalist movement, than among his own people. In this respect it was reported that he caused certain Continentals, such as RUTH REYNOLDS and JAY HOLMES SMITH, to interest themselves on behalf of Puerto Rican independence. Furthermore, through Miss THELMA MIELKE, the Nationalist Party's observer before the United Nations, efforts were made to bring Puerto Rico's case before that body.

As late as the fall of 1946 ALBIZU was still in contact with EARL BROWDER, ex-Secretary of the Communist Party USA. In this connection (P)(u)

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it was reported that Albizu had proposed to the Communist Party that if that party would furnish the sum of \$50,000 to the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico in furtherance of the cause of Puerto Rican independence, he - Albizu - would agree to have a representative of the Communist Party as a member of the cabinet of the Puerto Rican Government after independence was secured. It was said that the Communist leaders in New York did not look with favor upon the proposal. (u)

The above political proposition presented by Albizu suggests that he expects to be Chief of State and in a position to exercise dictatorial powers if the Nationalist Party program is successful. This negates his frequently expressed contention that neither he nor any member of the Nationalist Party has any personal political ambitions; and that they are altruistically working toward the liberation of their country after which they will vanish from the political scene.

On December 12, 1947, ALBIZU, accompanied by ANGEL CARLO TORO, a Nationalist Party member of Cabo Rojo, Puerto Rico, departed New York City aboard the SS Kathryn of the Bull Lines. On December 15, 1947, exactly six months to the day after the expiration of his probationary period, he arrived in San Juan, after an absence of almost eleven years.

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## II.

THE RETURN OF ALBIZU CAMPOSA. RECEPTION CEREMONIES AND SPEECH, December 15, 1947

In the early morning hours of 12/15/47 cars and trucks containing Nationalist sympathizers began to flow into San Juan from all parts of Puerto Rico. Cars with loud speakers announcing the return of ALBIZU circulated throughout the streets of San Juan and outlying suburbs, urging the people to greet the "Master." One of the cars, a Chrysler, bearing license 910, property of the Nationalist Party, according to T-1 (S) (u) had a loud speaker and was announcing that business houses must close their doors so that the employees could greet Albizu. Nationalist flags were flying throughout San Juan. Other announcements made by the sound cars were to the effect that "The Maestro arrives alive to continue the struggle for liberty."

Two lines of about forty black-shirted cadets of the Liberating Army were formed outside the gates of the dock under the command of RAIMUNDO DIAZ PACHECO. These cadets were present as an "honor guard" for the Nationalist Party's President. Some of the placards observed by the reporting agent held by Nationalists at the pier, read: "Don Pedro, your sacrifice has not been in vain," "The prison was your altar," "The teacher comes in pursuit of his disciples," "Puerto Rico awaits you anxiously," "Cayey gives thanks for your return," "Visiting Cuban students greet you," "Your people have not forgotten," "Albizu is the star who comes to light the way for those who do not know it," "Rio Piedras greets the last liberator of America," "The Cialesños greet you, honorable teacher," "Down with the filibusters from the North," "Muñoz Marín is a traitor," "Attention Puerto Rico! The man who broke the chains of slavery arrives." "Eternal contempt for tyranny," "Death to Yankee Imperialism," "Student Federation greets you."

A reception committee composed of JUAN ANTONIO CORRETIER, Communist and ex-Nationalist, and CARLOS CARRERAS BENITEZ and CONCEPCION DE GRACIA of the Independentist Party, and others, gathered at the pier to greet ALBIZU. According to T-1, GILBERTO CONCEPCION DE GRACIA did not personally greet ALBIZU. The newspapers reported that this was because the press of the crowd prevented him from getting close to Albizu. But T-1 expressed the opinion that Concepción de Gracia did not deem it politically advisable for him to personally take Albizu's hand in greeting, and as a political expedient merely "put in an appearance" at the reception. (S) (u)

According to the local press, ALBIZU CAMPOS, when asked by the Customs Inspector as to whether he had any flowers or plants, replied,

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"Well, I took only one seed with me and I have brought it back," metaphorically referring to his ideal of Puerto Rican independence as a "seed."

As soon as ALBIZU stepped off the gangplank and on to Puerto Rican soil, he said, "My dear friends, I wish to say a few words. While I was very sick in the United States I pledged that if God would permit me to return to Puerto Rico I would fully pardon and forgive all those who have done me any harm." He said he carried a message of love.

The "Cadets of the Republic" made a futile attempt to form a cordon around him, but the multitude was too powerful and his enthusiastic followers rushed to him cheering wildly and attempting to touch him. There were approximately 4,000 people gathered in front of Pier #8 when ALBIZU emerged in the rear seat of an old model Packard touring car with the top down. This was viewed by the reporting agent.

The procession went to the Cathedral of San Juan where a Te Deum Mass was celebrated. In this connection, [T-2] continental resident of Puerto Rico, and political observer for over thirty years, advised that ALBIZU is not particularly devout personally in spite of his reputation to that effect; that he merely uses Catholicism as a mark of distinction between Americans and Puerto Ricans -- the Anglo-Saxon Protestant against the Latin Catholic. (u)

After leaving the Cathedral the procession met at the Sixto Escobar (baseball) Park, and speeches were made by various Nationalists and Nationalist sympathizers. The reporting agent was present at this meeting. About 1500 persons were present.

PAULINO CASTRO, Secretary General of the Party, introduced the speakers in the order of their appearance.

PIERRE MOROVIAH MORPEAU, Haitian intellectual, greeted Albizu "in the name of the Haitian people," and called him the Mahatma Ghandi of Puerto Rico." MOROVIAH MORPEAU was a constant companion of ALBIZU from the time of the latter's arrival to the time MORPEAU left Puerto Rico returning to Haiti. In his speech MORPEAU urged the union of all Puerto Ricans for the triumph of the ideal of independence.

The second speaker was CESAR ANDREU IGLESIAS, President of the Communist Party of Puerto Rico, who said, among other things, that "the winning of independence for the fatherland is the labor of all the people and it becomes necessary to unite all patriotic forces of the country to achieve the realization of the ideal of independence." He also mentioned that Nationalists and Communists are both part of the Puerto Rican family seeking independence.

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VICENTE MORCIGLIO FIGUEROA, believed to be a Nationalist sympathizer, spoke on behalf of the Congreso General de Trabajadores, and expressed pro-independence sentiments in greeting ALBIZU.

JUAN ANTONIO CORRETJER, Communist and ex-Nationalist, reviewed the Nationalist Party history and stated, "Yankee imperialism is decadent throughout the world and it will soon have to be defeated in Puerto Rico. Communism will collaborate in the struggle for Nationalist independence." CORRETJER also made the statement that, "The Puerto Ricans know how to suffer every sacrifice and maintain themselves firm in their revolutionary mission for the independence of Puerto Rico. They will not continue being victims of the Yankee's barbaric aggression."

CARLOS CARRERAS BENITEZ, an official of the Independence Party of Puerto Rico, greeted ALBIZU in the name of the Independence Party and offered him that party's cooperation.

JUAN SAEZ CORALES, labor leader of the Unidad General de Trabajadores, said that the UGT, "without being a political entity, will collaborate in the work toward independence because the working classes of Puerto Rico cannot be happy so long as the Island is in slavery."

JORGE LUIS LANDING, then President of the Student Council and of the University Independentist Society, University of Puerto Rico, said that the SIU had already joined battle in behalf of Puerto Rican independence, and would back any independence movement. (That day, 12/15/47, JORGE LUIS LANDING and a group of independence-minded students, had forcefully lowered the American Flag from the University flagpole and had substituted the Nationalist flag of Puerto Rico. They had also erected on University property a large banner reading, "Greetings to the Master, Albizu Campos." For this act, LANDING and two others were expelled from the University, and two students were suspended for one year).

JOSE ENMORADO CUESTA, anti-American editor of the violently pro-independence "Puerto Rico Libre," spoke for a long time about the Nationalist movement and inconsistently referred to the Spanish Civil War in which he (Cuesta) had taken part. By this time the crowd was becoming very impatient to hear ALBIZU speak and throughout Cuesta's oration, shouts of, "Let the Master speak," and "Let Albizu talk," were heard.

JULIO DE SANTIAGO, Acting President of the Party, introduced ALBIZU, whose speech on this occasion is described below. This speech by ALBIZU was his first in Puerto Rico after an absence of over ten years. It has been generously quoted from because it set the pattern for his

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other speeches that followed. Pertinent excerpts from the text (made available by (T-3) who took shorthand notes) are set out below. (All quotations appearing in this report are translated from the Spanish ). (u)

"I have come to tell you that the hour of decision has arrived in Puerto Rico. The hour of decision is not the hour of words, but of action.

"What happened in Vieques is what is going to happen to all of Puerto Rico. (applause). Do not applaud. Think. Take the supreme decision in all that touches the sacrifice of the fatherland.

"I said that what had happened in Vieques is what is waiting for us in all the national territory of Puerto Rico. I am going to tell you about a recurrence of history. A spokesman for the United States Navy appeared in connection with the Tydings project and declared that the Navy of that country did not oppose recognition of the independence of Puerto Rico, if and when, listen to that carefully, if and when, the Government of the United States, could retain the right to occupy for military, naval, or aerial reasons, any part of the national territory, listen well, any part of the national territory of Puerto Rico they need; any part of the national territory, that is, San Juan, Ponce, Mayaguez, Humacao, etc., etc.,

"Any part means reservation of the right of all the territory for military use. That is to say that we, our nationality, depends on them, because if they say, 'Throw out your business and move to Cuba, to Santo Domingo, or anywhere else, here you can no longer live,' then will come forced emigration.

"How can the United States Government justify moving us, at its will, converting all our homes into military, naval, or aerial bases? What is the purpose of this? Who are they afraid of? What do they pursue with that policy? How dare that congress of despots, called the Congress of the United States, the congress of the boldest and most despotic men in the world - and I say it taking full responsibility, because they are not who dare to say and legislate what is the destiny of each Puerto Rican - how can they dare to pass legislation which will tear out a son from each Puerto Rican home and send him to be killed on the battlefield; how can they dare to take our women from their homes and put them in a military contingent?

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"I have seen them with the cloth of death. I have seen our uniformed youth with the cloth of death over their faces, in the uniform of the Army. I know what it means when a foreign power has the right to take our sons, from each of our women, or ourselves, to use them, each one a loved one, as instruments of imperialism, that they consider it their right to dispose of Puerto Rican life at their will and in accordance with their interests, according to their interpretations.

"Some tell me that they are satisfied with the bonuses, insurance, and pensions that they receive from the War Department of the United States from having had an uncle who was killed on Okinawa. It would horrify me to take money from the hand that had my son killed. It would terrify me to see it fall in my hands.

"Our blood is not to be paid us by our executioner and we should not accept any pay for the sacred blood of our brothers. What we must do is avenge that blood.

"Now it was said that what was done was a necessity of war. To ask us to go and defend a despot that strangles us. Only a bunch of imbecile slaves could take that position. No country would accept it. For that reason the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico - which is Puerto Rican, which is our arm and vanguard, because it is the party to give its all for the liberty of each and every Puerto Rican even though they be our worst enemies - recommended to its members that no one register, since all the power of the United States cannot reduce a sworn Nationalist to slavery. For this reason, the Nationalist Party, in full war, said that none of us should register.

"Our sons are the victims of the cowardice of our ancestors. This matter of still discussing in Puerto Rico if their children should be taught in Spanish. There are assemblies, resolutions, studies, etc., etc. That can be solved by us in a few minutes. We form a commission, we go to the school, and we say to them: 'Teaching in English is finished, and that settles it, because they are our children, and we send them to you, and you teach in the language that we want.' And the one who is ambitious and who likes English, we will tell him to go to New York, because he considers himself very American. All that we can solve in a minute, as all things of dignity are solved.

"We have to revert to the attitude of those people in the hills who have a machete handy to kill anyone who does not respect his wife or his son. Thus should Puerto Ricans defend their country irrespective of the sacrifice. One can be very cultured, but very

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much a slave; it isn't necessary to revert to history to prove it, the painful present condition of our people is sufficient. (Somebody shouted, "Down with Muñoz Marín." Albizu replied:).

"Commentaries do not give us freedom. I don't intend to make many speeches in Puerto Rico. I have not come to entertain my people. No. I am not an actor. I want no applause. Listen carefully. I have come here because I do not believe in voluntary exile, and I have come because in my country, slave that it be, here lies my duty, and nobody should flee from a sick or lame mother, for it is then she most needs love, the affection of her children, and the country is greater than the mother. We must give all our physical energies and all the knowledge that Providence has bestowed upon us, so that not one Puerto Rican shall suffer the indignity of being called a slave of a foreign despot. I put my physical energies at the service of the most humble, the most ignorant; those that lack will power; that is not audacity bred in adversity, rather, it is consciousness of the fact that the fatherland, like the body, dies because of the weakest organ.

"I do not want to coax you or give you a negative impression. We are a great people, noble and very generous, and for those reasons, we are capable of realizing the greatest undertaking in human history.

"We are confronted by a despotism that has elevated lynching to the category of democracy. To lynch a human being is an act of democracy in the United States. It is democracy in action. It is democracy and there is no court to sanction it because it is democracy in action, it is sublime.

"The white woman who marries a negro in the United States is expected to end up in an insane asylum. They say she is crazy. It is the tragedy of fourteen million negroes born and raised in the United States, and they are the ones who have given wealth to the country. In the Army negroes and whites are divided into negro and white societies. I speak of something that has affected each one of us, to the total disintegration of our nationality.

"Other great empires of the past have committed all those wrongs. They have been challenged and conquered. The United States is armed with modern techniques. They are living in the atomic age which I call the age of unscientific savagery.

"In the United States there is a campaign to prepare a plan to destroy our nationality.

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"But, of course, we do not ask anything of the Yankees except the immediate withdrawal of the armed forces from our national territory. We want nothing more.

"I have also been observing here a certain opinion that some Puerto Ricans do not want independence without certain guarantees. There is no greater indignity than that of the country that does not want to be freed until the despot that strangles it gives it back part of the wealth taken from it.

"That government (the United States) tells its delegates to the Inter-American Conferences not to touch the subject of Puerto Rico, and no other nation mentions it for fear of the Yankee democracy."

B. FIRST PRESS CONFERENCE, December 16, 1947

On December 16, 1947 ALBIZU held a general press conference at the Puerto Rican Athenaeum in San Juan, Puerto Rico, attended by representatives of the local press. Questions of the reporters are set out in parenthesis in a summary of this conference quoted below. (Made available by (T-3) from his shorthand notes) -

(Your plans?)

"My plan has always been to unite all Puerto Ricans in favor of independence for Puerto Rico. It is an unalterable plan."

(What is your present position?) "My present position was defined in my speech yesterday."

(Then the Nationalist Party is following its same course?) "The Nationalist Party cannot vary its tactics. It has a fixed course, and it is the right of the Puerto Rican nation to call forth all means to bring about its independence. The pacific right and the revolutionary. Revolution is an inalienable right, if it is necessary. Now, if independence can be achieved by pacific means, that is what is desired; but the Puerto Ricans cannot renounce their inalienable right to call forth revolution to expulse a foreign despot from their national territory. We shall use all means, so it all depends on the United States. If they respect the right of Puerto Rico to become a free and sovereign nation, and do not use force to destroy the rights of the Puerto Rican nation, all will be well; but if they resort to force to prohibit Puerto Rican national liberty, we Puerto Ricans have the right to resist force with force."

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(What about the rights of the United States?) "The United States has no right. Honoring what is right, their implacable duty is to withdraw their armed forces immediately from the national territory of Puerto Rico. This is the opinion of all free men. We ask for nothing new; only the natural and positive right that Puerto Ricans have to be free, as individuals and as a nation."

(You said yesterday that this is the hour of action. I would like for you to tell us the significance of that sentence: "This is the hour of action.") "It refers specifically to the fact that no Puerto Rican ought to cooperate with the power of the United States at all, directly or indirectly. When a Puerto Rican offers himself to be an instrument of the despotism that subjugates his country, that is direct action. When a Puerto Rican frees himself of the slave feeling, of being a quisling in the hands of the United States, that is the radical step that permits, then, the organization of the nationality in favor of its independence. For example, the non-acceptance of public offices. One cannot divide loyalty, and in order to occupy a public position it is necessary to swear loyalty to the flag, to the position, executive, legislative, or judicial. So that any form of administrative, executive, legislative, or judicial employment requires that those accepting it swear loyalty to a power not Puerto Rican."

"The United States has chosen to ignore us. Here everything is done in the name of the United States. And all who enter into that governmental machine begin by ignoring the Puerto Rican as a nationality and to receive orders, instructions, and to encourage interests of the despotism of the United States in Puerto Rico, against the rights and interests of Puerto Rico. That is not a question of good or bad faith of the individual, rather a process necessary before entering the political machinery of the United States in Puerto Rico."

"When a Puerto Rican claims he is a Puerto Rican, the fatherland can count on him. He assumes his duties of natural citizenship and in fulfilling those duties is prepared to make the sacrifices necessary for maintaining Puerto Rican nationality. Upon searching his political conscience, if he can also say, "I am a defender of the independence of Puerto Rico," this citizen is automatically placed in the heart of the country as a Puerto Rican citizen, and his aspirations become those of a member of the Puerto Rican nationality which seeks liberty, sovereignty, and independence. We must find the guide to follow in our own political experience of half a century defending the independence of Puerto Rico against the despotism of the United States."

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"Up to the time of the passage of the Jones Act by the Congress of the United States, in which the despotic rule of Puerto Rico by the United States was established, the United States recognized one citizenship in Puerto Rico - the Puerto Rican. Our position was frankly that of a subjugated people. By the Jones Act the United States pretended to erase Puerto Rican citizenship, substituting for it United States citizenship. I say pretended, because there persists in this act official recognition of Puerto Rican citizenship by the United States; however, it denies in the national territory of Puerto Rico all political rights to those who professed Puerto Rican citizenship and confers all political rights in Puerto Rico upon United States citizens, or citizens of other "foreign countries," because the United States in exercising its powers in Puerto Rico or in the United States, cannot deny to any foreigner certain rights that emanate from the treaties of International public and private law that control the international life of the nationalities (sic). A German, an Englishman, or a Spaniard has more rights in Puerto Rico than any Puerto Rican citizen, because the existence of a free nationality, sovereign and independent protects him. It is of vital interest to the United States to let these citizens live in peace, and thereby allow the United States enterprises to function within the respective countries.

"They cannot deprive a Dominican citizen of his properties nor throw him out in the street, lynch him in jail, because it would provoke an international objection, because in the international sense size of a country doesn't count when it comes to respecting certain rights. A Puerto Rican citizen is deprived of guarantees in his own country by a despot. The government of the United States deprives him of all rights, within its political system.

"To confuse the people, the United States has divided its bureaucracy into two - federal and insular. The insular is a bureau of the Department of the Interior of the United States, and the Governor here is directly responsible to the Department of Interior and the bureaucrats are responsible to the Secretary of the Interior of the United States. And all the courts from the Municipal Courts to the so-called Supreme Court of Puerto Rico are responsible to the Attorney General of the United States. Legislative action is subject to the absolute veto of the United States, and to complete nullification by the Congress of the United States.

"Here there is no property right which might be valid against the will of the United States Government, and regarding personal rights - civil liberties - it does not appear to me necessary to tell

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the story of the killing of Rosado and Beauchamp in the Police Station by order of the Governor of Puerto Rico. Here there is no personal right. Where the public power says that any citizen may be killed in the street that which exists is a bloody despotism because they can machine-gun you in the open street."

(What do you think of the Independence movement which is being carried on by a new political party which is now engaged in registering?). "All political movements here based upon recognition of American citizenship, even though it may be favorable to the independence of Puerto Rico, carries with it the principles of dissolution in the individual and the group. Nationality begins with the individual. Each must be a citizen of Puerto Rico, and his loyalty must be unconditionally Puerto Rican. He must not owe obedience or loyalty to any other power. All electoral process within the present regime requires first that the voter be a citizen of the United States, that he renounces being a Puerto Rican.

"The Treaty of Paris is null and void, and consequently all of the laws of the United States in Puerto Rico are invalid. Concerning the Treaty of Paris, during the autonomous regime which existed in 1897 no law, resolution, or treaty of Spain affecting Puerto Rico could be passed without Puerto Rico's consent. The Treaty of Paris was signed by plenipotentiaries who were not Puerto Ricans, although the government of Puerto Rico had authority to have sent them, and said treaty was not ratified at any time by the Autonomous Parliament of Puerto Rico. The United States eliminated autonomy of Puerto Rico by force."

(What preachments do you intend to make?) "The Nationalist Party proposes to tell the youth not to destroy the Puerto Rican citizenship with which they were born by a voluntary act. That they should not register for any election because there begins the nullification of the Puerto Rican right."

(And if you are successful in bring about electoral abstinence, what step do you then intend to take?) "The next step would be taken by the United States before the world, because they wish to appear in the eyes of the world as a super democracy. When electoral abstinence is produced, when each remains in his house, either by right or by force, the United States will have to give in, as happened in Santo Domingo during the American intervention. When the Americans see that each functionary, policeman, judge, etc., has to be a Yankee, they will say that they are faced with a worthy people, and then it will not be necessary to resort to force, because they will realize

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that they are faced with a resolute people. The Americans are strong, but our right is stronger than their despotism.

"It is necessary that the United States understand that in Puerto Rico there is not even one man capable of swearing falsely, not one single woman capable of duplicity, because with duplicity there is no moral fibre. If the legislature asks unanimously for independence, they will ignore it if there is no moral fibre."

(And if the American congress does not take action, what will the legislature do?). "The legislature will insist, saying that "we are Puerto Ricans," but then an agent of the United States Government will come with power to arrest for sedition. They will have to resort to revolution, but they cannot call the people to revolution because they will not have confidence in them."

(And what can you tell us of Puerto Rico before the United Nations?) "We are the only subject nation of the world which has a permanent mission at the United Nations, and has had it there since the beginning. Puerto Rico is the only Latin American country that has an organization there which is not governmental and not American. This recognition was made official on January 9, 1947, according to an official communication dated July 14, 1947 at the United Nations. This recognition gave the right to every organization to have an official observer before all the committees of the United Nations and the delegations that meet there, and the Nationalist Party can have direct relations with any delegation. The Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico has an observer for Puerto Rico, Thelma Mielke, with a permanent pass. She is a secretary and is affiliated with our party. She is the daughter of German parents and was born in the United States.

"Our case, that of Puerto Rico, is deeply felt, and creates profound international interest.

"The Nationalist Party presented a proposition to be heard in the name of Puerto Rico before the commission ad hoc charged with examining reports which colonial powers are obliged to submit concerning economical, social, and educational conditions of the subject countries under their jurisdiction. When the United States signed the constitution of the United Nations they accepted this obligation, and in 1946 the United States filed the first official report on Puerto Rico prepared by Rexford Guy Tugwell. The second for 1947 was prepared by Piñero. This report covers general activities of Puerto Rico, and promised on a later occasion to make an analysis because at the present time it would be too detailed an undertaking.

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"According to the official report submitted by the Secretary of State of the Interior (sic) of the United States to the United Nations, the government of the United States recognizes that Puerto Rico was an autonomous nation under the Spanish monarchy of 1897; that the United States destroyed that autonomy, and Puerto Rico had the right to make certain treaties with any nation because no treaty of Spain was obligatory in Puerto Rico without the prior authorization of the Puerto Rican parliament. The Treaty of Paris was negotiated by plenipotentiaries who were not Puerto Ricans in spite of the fact that Puerto Rico could have sent them to any part of the world. This treaty was not submitted to the Puerto Rican Parliament for its ratification and therefore the United States committed this act of destruction of our personality without official regard for international jurisprudence.

"By virtue of the resolution of December 16, 1946 the United Nations created a commission ad hoc to examine the documentation that the colonial powers had to submit to the United Nations concerning social conditions, etc., according to Article 73 (c). The Nationalist Party asked to be heard because it was interested in bringing the true conditions to the attention of that commission which was made up of eight colonial powers and eight non-colonial powers.

"The Secretary General submitted the matter to the colonial powers. Some of these powers abstained from voting, while others adopted the thesis of the United States that countries like Puerto Rico don't have the right to be heard. Russia, India, and Egypt voted in favor of our being heard, but rather they decided "not to hear us, but to read us," because the presence there of certain persons could cause deep repercussions.

"After that the Nationalist Party again asked to be heard in the Assembly and the Secretary General informed that he had submitted the case to the Assembly and the matter was still open. We have interviewed all the delegations, but only sovereign governments appear there and none of them has ventured to do anything for us. We cannot reproach anyone for not presenting our question because we ourselves are obligated to do that. We should not ask anyone who is not a Puerto Rican to join in fighting for our liberty."

(And what about the memorial that a group of intellectuals has submitted to the United Nations?) "It was directed to the United Nations in general terms and needs more study as to what organizations within the United Nations it should be sent. Each petition must be

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designated for the proper body having jurisdiction over the proceedings. The request has great merit because it is a protest coming from Puerto Rico and as such should have great effect."

(Did you upon your return to Puerto Rico find the earth more fertile for the "seed" that you said you had brought back?) "Each day the earth is more fertile for the seed that I took with me, and brought back. No one can stop the evolution of a people."

(Is it true that while you were in prison they made offers to you based upon your renunciation of the struggle for independence?)

"Every effort which might be made to Albizu Campos which is not based on the immediate recognition of the independence of Puerto Rico, does not merit his attention. And every offer that is not based on independence he will consider an attack on his dignity as a patriot and will reject it. The offer that was made to me in prison by the Government of the United States was not based upon the independence of Puerto Rico, and because of that did not merit my attention nor that of my countrymen."

(Are you going to preach electoral abstinence?) "Half a century of despotism is enough to convince anyone. Electoral abstinence is a question of conviction. Inaction is a crime, we will fight for abstinence in 1948. There will be a general campaign throughout the nation to maintain the integrity of Puerto Ricanism."

(Don Pedro, at your reception at the pier there was a platoon of cadets of the Republic. Can it be considered that that is an institution in existence?) "Laws of existence manifest themselves by external manifestations, and if the platoon of cadets was there present, it is because it exists. We have that corps as a means of disciplining youth. There must be a form of discipline for youth, and that is one of them."

#### C. REACTION TO ALBIZU'S STATEMENTS

"El Universal," San Juan daily newspaper, reported on 12/17/48 that representative CENESIMO IRIARTE, President of the Puerto Rico Republican (pro-statchood) Party, in statements to the press, had (1) condemned Albizu's reference to United States citizenship as a "contagious disease," pointing out that all political parties, individuals, and groups had fought for United States citizenship for 17 years before the United States Congress decided to bestow it upon the Puerto Rican people, (2) urged Puerto Ricans

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to ignore Albizu's recommendation of non-cooperation with the United States Government and be proud of their citizenship; (3) lauded the pro-statehood movement and denied that it was an indignity to aspire statehood; (4) declared the electoral abstinence as preached by Pedro Albizu Campos would, if successful, result in chaos for Puerto Rico which has a constitutional government under which the people elect their representatives every four years.

Another item in "El Universal," 12/18/47 quoted LUIS PEREZ MATOS, President of the Puerto Rican Liberal Party, as opposing electoral abstinence on the grounds that it is "negative" political action.

El Mundo, San Juan daily newspaper, 12/20/47 indicated that LUIS MUÑOZ MARIN, President of the Senate of Puerto Rico and Chief of the Puerto Rico Popular Democratic Party (the controlling majority party in the Insular Government) attacked Albizu and his program as being ten years behind the times and failing completely to acknowledge the progress made in the years Albizu was absent.

"El Imparcial," San Juan daily, 12/18/47, stated that Senator WILLIAM CORDOBA CHIRINO, a leader of the Independence Party of Puerto Rico, had gone on record as saying that the Independence Party desires the independence of Puerto Rico, but that this can be accomplished through the ballot box, thus rejecting "electoral abstinence."

D. SECOND PRESS CONFERENCE, December 19, 1947

Following the above declarations, another press conference was held on 12/19/47 in ALBIZU's room at the Hotel Normandie, San Juan, where he has been living since 12/16/47. The principal purpose of this conference was to determine ALBIZU's reaction to the statements of CELESTINO IRIARTE and other local politicians mentioned above. ALBIZU's rebuttal can be summarized as follows: (From the text submitted by (T-3) *Doj*)

"Puerto Ricans are denied their natural citizenship. Puerto Rico is under the heel of a despot. The Governor of Puerto Rico is the pro-consul of the President of the United States. Puerto Rico is subject to the jurisdiction of each and every department of the United States Government - War, Navy, Justice, Treasury, Agriculture, etc. The United States, through its Navy Department, is trying to destroy the Municipality of Vieques and a society of centuries established there. It is trying to uproot the citizens of Vieques and subject them to forced migration.

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"Until a short time ago, the so-called "Government of Puerto Rico" was a Bureau in the U. S. War Department. It is now under the jurisdiction of the Department of the Interior of the United States, and Puerto Rico occupies the position of a "public land" of the United States. All courts in Puerto Rico are subject to review by courts of the United States. Our countrymen must clearly see that the despotism that bears upon them is imposed by the Congress of the United States and that the President of the United States is obliged by Congressional law to maintain that despotism.

"The Bureau of the U. S. Interior Department, known as the "Government of Puerto Rico," is not utilized so much to govern as to deceive the Puerto Rican nation. If this Bureau were abolished the government would be the same. It is really unnecessary and exists only to give the impression that Puerto Rico has a government with a legislature and so-called popular elections.

"There is a functionary of the "Government of Puerto Rico" called the "Resident Commissioner" who must be elected periodically. The fundamental qualification for this position is that the Resident Commissioner be an American citizen - a Yankee. He must swear to uphold and defend the constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic. He must be a bona fide American citizen. The United States Congress will let no one sit with it who is not a Yankee in good faith. Under the Jones act, also called the Organic Act, no person is eligible to occupy the position of Resident Commissioner if he is not a bona fide citizen of the United States, not over twenty-five years of age, or not able to read and write the English language. Thus, it is seen that the Resident Commissioner - in spite of being a representative of the so-called Government of Puerto Rico - must be a functionary of the United States.

"The Resident Commissioner cannot vote on any question before Congress, including those affecting Puerto Rico. He cannot speak before the Congress without the unanimous consent of all members. That is no offense against Puerto Rico because the Resident Commissioner is a bona fide American citizen, a Yankee, and complies with the requirements of his government, the Government of the United States. In this case, the Resident Commissioner is a genuine, authentic, American citizen, no matter where born. That matter of being a bona fide citizen in the case of the Resident Commissioner implies that Congress knows that in Puerto Rico there are many persons called American citizens who are of doubtful loyalty to the United States and even of ill will toward the United States.

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"The present despotism of the United States over Puerto Rico has been established to disintegrate and atomize the Puerto Rican nation. Those of Puerto Rican nationality (who elected to remain Puerto Rican Nationals, when given the choice of American citizenship) cannot vote or hold any government office. The Americans in Puerto Rico naturally desire to live up to and obey the laws of their country, the United States, and they do not wish to be traitors to their country. Those who believe that their loyalty is divisible are on neither moral nor juridical grounds. They are either citizens of Puerto Rico or they are Yankee citizens and if they are Puerto Rican citizens, they must not directly or indirectly compromise their personalities as individuals. They must not vote for or accept any position in the Federal or Insular Governments, or take any oath offered by the Yankees. No one has the right to request the nullification of the Puerto Rican nation under pain of having the justice of the fatherland fall opportunely on their heads (sic).

"The Bureau called the "Government of Puerto Rico" can be annulled at any moment by an act of the United States Congress. The electoral right of Puerto Ricans can be withdrawn as can the court system and all existing Puerto Rican agencies. In their stead could be placed a Lieutenant of the Army who could act as Mayor-Judge-Policeman. All that would be necessary for such a thing to happen would be a concurrent resolution or any other law repealing the Organic Act.

"Tomorrow I will initiate my campaign to force the United States to withdraw its armed forces from Puerto Rico at a large meeting in the City of Caguas.

"We do not fear persecution by the United States. Our only desire is the independence of Puerto Rico, and we are going to bring that about as quickly as possible, cost what it will. The tactics to be used will be determined by the enemy of Puerto Rico, the United States."

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III.  
SPEECHES

A. CAGUAS, December 20, 1947

At 9:00 P.M. on December 20, 1947 ALBIZU spoke at a Nationalist Party meeting in the Public Square in Caguas, Puerto Rico. This speech was broadcast over the radio. Approximately 200 persons were in attendance. The following are excerpts from the speech (from shorthand notes taken by (T-3) who listened to it over Radio Station WVJP, Caguas) -

"I want to reach each Puerto Rican and each foreigner who lives with us, and all who fight for the emancipation of the oppressed. I want to reach the heart of the despots because we do not know what place they occupy in the moral line of life. I want to reach all those who destroyed our liberty, because we are to be free in this life, in our consciences, of all hatred and rancor."

"I greet all men and women of all the nations of the world, defenders of the independence of Puerto Rico, who demanded my freedom and that of my companions, and all the parliaments who raised their voices in protest against the enslavement of the liberating movement in Puerto Rico by an empire which in the twentieth century acts as a despot in the name of Democracy."

"The United States feels strong and for that reason believes it has the right to destroy, because they desire to destroy, our nationality. They believe that that strength justifies destruction, from the people of Vieques up to the entire Puerto Rican people, and they (the United States) are filled with wrath when those forces receive a justifiable order to come down off the pedestal of its despotism. When we gave them this order in 1930, they were filled with hate, they committed crimes, and they spilled the blood of our citizens, bringing terror to each Puerto Rican home and heart."

"Well, gentlemen, the hour has arrived for the United States to withdraw its forces from Puerto Rico. Half a century of abuses is enough."

"It is necessary to crown life like a glorious act, with sacrifices for mankind so that man may be worthy of the Divine Creator."

(Referring to the teaching in Spanish, he said:) "I am astounded that the Puerto Ricans have tolerated this mutilation of the mentality of their children for fifty years. The United States wants

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not only to destroy our culture and disintegrate our nation, but also to destroy our language, which contains our civilization, the vision of our life, to force upon us their culture and language, casting out our books and substituting theirs. It is true their technical studies are advanced; but it is also certain that because of this they are the semi-barbarians of humanity. They are like the perverse man who faces a defenseless man with a pistol in his hand. It is necessary to attack him to keep him from using the pistol."

"We Puerto Ricans want peace for all the world, including with the United States. We do not take the offensive against the United States with arms. But I do say that if the United States fires one shot in Puerto Rico we shall return many shots. (Several minutes of applause). That is the unalterable position, the calculated and severe position of patriotism. I have no hate, bitterness or vengeance for the one who strangles us, because our blood is sacred and the blood of our enemies is sacred; because they are our brothers in humanity, but they do not have the right to murder their brothers."

"I want the Yankees born in the United States and those born here to know that the time has come for them to respect the independence of Puerto Rico. I would be incapable of harboring a desire to worry anyone. I would be incapable of not worrying about those who accompany me. When we forget about our children, our wives, the conditions of life of our neighbors, or of the state of society, then crime is planted in our hearts. We must always be on the alert not to inflict pain."

"The truth becomes even more terrible when he who is in power says to us, 'Get down, insolent one.' We say to the Yankees, to those born here as well as in the United States, 'Get down off the seat of despotic power over the Puerto Ricans.' I say, 'Yankees born here,' because there are some. There is a naturalization process by which a person born in Puerto Rico can be a Yankee, a Jap, a German, or whatever he wishes, disowning his own country. The perfect example of that man is Iriarte, Celestino Iriarte."

"Iriarte very proudly says, 'I am an American citizen.' I wish to tell him I don't dislike him because he is a Yankee. He has a right to be one, even though he was born in our country. I do not quarrel with him because he is a Yankee, because I am not at odds with the Yankees, as such. My dispute is with the Yankees, those born there as well as those born here, who wish to carry on their despotic rule in Puerto Rico."

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"What I say to Iriarte - who is a perfect example of a man who disowns his country - is this: That he and all those who reside in Puerto Rico who consider themselves American citizens, stop trying to destroy the Puerto Rican nation, because if they don't we shall have to stop them. No one, whether born in Puerto Rico or not, has a right to destroy the Puerto Rican nation. Absolutely no one, and even less those who have disowned Puerto Rico. There are those here who talk against the colony, but in the next sentence they tell us, "We are American citizens and we want annexation." Well, what is annexation but statehood, which is the ultimate success of a colony."

(Then he referred to Senator Chávez, who says he is of Spanish parents, to whom he directed the following words:) "But we tell him, Senator Chávez, as well as Iriarte, to stop bringing United States despotism to Puerto Rico, or we are going to stop it.."

"If Albizu could bring independence in a Yankee boat, then he would say, here it is. Albizu likes a life dedicated to love, to study, and to kindness. I would like to live a tranquil life, and meditate on eternal things. But Albizu was born into a slave people, and he cannot be calm even though the United States offer him all the privileges that the United States can offer one born in its own country."

"I invite you to study the rules of Yankee despotism in Puerto Rico. In them it says that to be a voter one must meet certain qualifications. He must be a citizen of the United States, and at 21 he must renounce his Puerto Rican nationality in his own handwriting. They propose to destroy Puerto Rican nationality first by means of the vote, or by shots, as in the Ponce Massacre, when they were confronted by the Nationalist Party."

(After referring to the duplicity, Albizu said:) "We should be frank with our Yankee enemies, and tell them to their faces, 'You are our enemies. Get out of our country.'"

"Now, I wish to refer to Mr. Luis Muñoz Marín who has honored me by answering my statements. He tells me that I am repeating what I said ten years ago. Muñoz Marín is mistaken, more than ten years. Twenty-six years ago, since 1921. Here in Caguas, in 1924, Albizu made his first speech on the same thesis." (From El Imparcial, 12/22/47, reporting the speech: "Here in this same spot, in the promenade park of Caguas, in 1924, I delivered a speech, and my policy then was the same as it is now."). "Muñoz Marín repeats the theme

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of half a century, of going to the polls and bowing before the despotism of the United States."

"Muñoz Marín will not commit himself. Muñoz Marín has invented a kind of double talk and now it is time for him to learn how to talk correctly. Each time we ask him those questions, he comes back with "gu-gu, ga-ga, pu-pu, pe-pe," Things of a suckling child. No, Muñoz Marín, that story is finished. It is time you decided to be for independence, or to be a Yankee, or let us say, a traitor. This duplicity is finished. I invite Muñoz Marín to again raise the flag he raised in 1932. In 1932 Muñoz Marín adored a goddess - the independence of Puerto Rico. He spoke clearly and seriously, and had the sharp humor of a great intellectual genius. Muñoz Marín has a goddess today. It is the Capitol. His is an earthly love. He doesn't think about anything but earth any more. That love breaks down like the steps of the Capitol when an impassioned multitude went in there to punish those who wanted to make fun of the symbols of the Fatherland."

(El Imparcial, 12/12/47: "Muñoz Marín has now one god and that god is the capitol. The love of Muñoz Marín is of stone and his love of stone is going to disintegrate like the steps of the capitol when a group of citizens went to the capitol to prevent, and prevented, the blasphemy and rape of our flag.")

"I have no dispute against him (Muñoz Marín), but I call him to reprimand him so that he will stop, so that he stops his playing "gu-gu, ga-ga, pu-pu, pe-pe," and speak decently, with the decency he owes himself; and in the Spanish language, the English language, or any other language, to state if he is in favor of, or against, the independence of Puerto Rico.

"Muñoz Marín has lost his power of speech, in his love of the Capitol, in that love of the earth. I ask Providence to show him the light. That he be a man of righteousness, of honor, and valor, and tell us bravely, "I also am Iriarte, or I am from Vieques.

"I understand that before I came to Puerto Rico, Muñoz Marín and Iriarte were at dagger's points, to see which of the two would be the foreman on this stock farm of the United States, because it is good for you to know that in the United States Puerto Rico is considered as a public territory of the United States. We have been debased even to that extent. Well, Muñoz Marín and Iriarte were having that fight, but when we came and placed the question before them, it seems that

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they were twins. Why do you fight, Republicans and Populists, if your leaders agree? It is necessary to ride the little horse of the colony, and Muñoz Marín, who agrees with Iriarte, gives me the right to say that he is a Yankee, and to ask him, "What are you?"

"They tell me there are better highways. For whom? For the troops of the United States so that they can cross in a moment and crush the Puerto Ricans. They have allowed a program to be followed so that the Jíbaro now has two instead of one loaf of bread a week; but Puerto Rico cannot die of hunger, because the Yankees need workmen so they can raise buildings in 24 hours; for its troops; to build luxurious suburbs for its officialdom; to open fields and mountains for its artillery; to take our valleys for military camps; our great bays for its fleet. And Muñoz Marín is the foreman that the Yankees have selected to keep the slaves happy.

"I tell Muñoz Marín to stop this insolence in saying that there is democracy in Puerto Rico, because it is disrespectful. Yes, he has lost the power of speech, so let him shut up, and not talk nonsense. It seems he has lost his mind, for in Puerto Rico what exists is a bloody despotism."

"Muñoz Marín has lost his mind if he says that there is a democracy here. It is supreme insolence to say that to our people. Let him stop being an instrument of destruction for the Puerto Rican nation. We shall stop him if necessary. Let him define himself - is he a Yankee or a Puerto Rican?"

"Puerto Rico is assigned to the Committee of Public Lands of the Congress of the United States, and in that public land are those like Iriarte who are Yankees; but we are the slaves who work and pay taxes. Listen well, we pay for our slavery, to support that slavery. I understand Iriarte's opinion because he is a Yankee, but I would like to hear the opinion of Muñoz Marín.

"I want you, Gentlemen, to know that the hour of decision has arrived for the Puerto Ricans. The hour to be Puerto Ricans. That is the call that I repeat to all of you."

B. MAYAGUEZ, January 11, 1948

This Nationalist Party meeting was held to commemorate the birth of EUGENIO MARIA DE HOSTOS, Puerto Rican patriot. The speech of Pedro Albizu Campos was approximately three hours in duration and was broadcast

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over the radio stations at Mayaguez, where the meeting was held. Ponce and Arecibo stations also carried it. Approximately 600 persons attended this meeting.

"El Imparcial" of 1/13/48 carried a report of the above speech. The author of this news report was RAMON DIAZ, reporter for "El Imparcial," who advised the reporting agent that he had listened to the speech over the radio. DIAZ offered the following quotations from ALBIZU's remarks.

"The only thing that I ask of LUIS MUÑOZ MARIN is that he say whether he is a Puerto Rican or a Yankee; whether he is in favor of independence or against independence. In that there are no mysteries or threats. Here no one is interested in the life of Muñoz Marín. He should live a hundred centuries if he is a Puerto Rican and he himself should wish to die if he considers himself a traitor."

"Muñoz Marín should explain himself. Here there can be no duplicity. Either he is a Puerto Rican or he is a Yankee. Here there must be implanted a decent respectable policy....."

"I advise Muñoz Marín and his satellites to cease throwing mud (literally "oranges") in the press, insinuating that we are going to kill him so that the Government of the United States will again attack us, and jail us, and exile us."

"We have not selected them (the Popular Party) capriciously, but it is the mission of Nationalism to be always at the front attacking the collaborators of the Yankees, as we did when the Coalition was in power."

Referring to compulsory military service, Albizu said that the Nationalist Party during the war had publicly denounced it as a crime against Puerto Rican citizens, and that many leaders of the Nationalist Party had been jailed for refusal to register to fight with the Yankees against the citizens of other countries. He stated that compulsory military training was again being considered and that the Nationalist Party would once more denounce it and refuse to comply. "With what right," asked Albizu, "does the Yankee Congress dare to legislate to force the Puerto Ricans to go and fight? to sacrifice their lives? Why don't Puerto Rican mothers teach rebellion to their sons so they will resist serving in the army of despotism?"

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Commenting on the teaching in English in the public schools, Albizu asserted that it was more than an abuse, it was savagery. He asked: "Who has said that the Puerto Ricans are a race of eunuchs or degenerates? Why don't the Puerto Ricans rise as one man when we are humiliated?"

"And there are still those who dare to say that democracy exists in Puerto Rico; that there are politicians who have the audacity to tell Albizu Campos that there is democracy, when Albizu Campos was in exile for eleven years. Those who say that there is democracy here are either crazy or have no shame."

I care much for Luis Muñoz Marín and his children, despite what he may suppose. I hope to God that the son of Muñoz Marín may not be recruited for compulsory military service when it comes to Puerto Rico, brought not by Piñero or by Muñoz Marín, but by the Secretary of War."

"The Americans want to make Puerto Rico a military camp from which to assault the rest of the world; a camp which will cause us to be attacked by the enemies of the United States. The United States has selected Puerto Rico as its shield, to place us in front of its enemies. In case of an attack, Puerto Rico will be the first to be attacked and thus the Yankees will have time, while Puerto Rico is being destroyed, to observe the tactics of its enemies and prepare itself to prevent its territory from being attacked. Why do not the Yankees establish bases in Florida, or Boston, or any other part of its national territory? Simply to avoid being attacked."

"The law for an elective governor does not in the slightest alter the despotism of the United States in Puerto Rico."

"Then a subject country rises, as Puerto Rico rose against the United States beginning in 1936, the Empire begins with murders such as those of Beauchamp and Rosado in police headquarters in San Juan; with massacres such as those at Río Piedras and Ponce; with imprisonment and exile. Then aggression ceases and (the process of) conformity begins. Sometimes they use instruments like Iriarte or Bolívar, and now they are using Muñoz Marín as the Yankee instrument to force conformity upon the Puerto Ricans. Everyone who has academic preparation is bribed by a public post so he will do nothing, so that he will think of nothing, neither of himself nor his honor. For that reason the Popular Democratic Party - very democratic - is giving jobs to corrupt the conscience of the Puerto Ricans."

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LUIS MUÑOZ MARIN, directing himself to Albizu's threat that if he did not stop uttering insolences he would be "stopped," said, during a radio speech on January 16, 1948: "How is he going to stop me? It cannot be with votes for he rejects them. It cannot be through fear, because I am not afraid. If it is not with votes, if it is not through fear, how is Albizu Campos going to stop me? Explain yourself! Will it be through violence? Abstain from that bad practice! Abstain, because no matter whose the hand that attempts it, the entire people will know the head that inspired it."

C. PONCE, February 1, 1948

A Nationalist Party meeting was held at Ponce, Puerto Rico on 2/1/48. Approximately 1500 persons attended. According to a confidential report from the Insular Police dated 2/10/48, ALBIZU spoke from 11:15 A.M. to 1:00 P.M. A record of this speech is on file at Insular Police Headquarters. Quotations from his radio broadcast speech are set out below:

"Education in Puerto Rico is not to instruct, but to destroy. It is a slow and calculated process to impose a strange and half barbaric language upon children five and six years of age. When you want to destroy a nationality, you begin by destroying its mentality...

What right has the United States to protest against the Germans destroying the Jews when they have been destroying the physical and cultural life of Puerto Rico for fifty years?"

He continued his speech by attacking (1) Selective Service Boards and those "Puerto Ricans who served on them at the instance of the Empire," (2) the game of baseball and Puerto Rican fanatic devotion to the game, (3) racism in the United States Army, in Puerto Rican parochial schools, in the Masons, Odd Fellows, Lions, Rotarians, Pro-Statchood, and Knights of Columbus organizations, (4) Puerto Rican "collaborators with the Yankee empire," (5) teaching in English in Puerto Rico, (6) "religious imperialism," which sends non Puerto Rican clergy to churches in Puerto Rico; and insisted that all social and cultural representatives, including ministers of the Gospel, be of "The Republic of Puerto Rico."

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In connection with this speech, ERASMO VANDA, a correspondent for "El Día," who took shorthand notes of the speech, published excerpts from it in the issue of 2/2/48. Excerpts from this article are as follows:

(Re: Selective Service) "Selection of what? They come to tear its sons from the breast of Puerto Rico, to send them to be victims of, or to kill, other people. The doctors of Puerto Rico told them that they were in perfect physical condition to be killed or assassinated.....

"While they say they are Puerto Ricans, all the citizens here are our friends. The day they say they are Americans, that day they become our enemies.....

"You are slaves, and have no right to your lives since you can be seized by a foreign power and sent to die in Siberia. Awake! Awake! Awake! You will pay for the weakness you had when you said you were an American citizen the day you registered (to vote in the Insular elections on January 17 and 18, 1948)....."

D. FAJARDO, February 8, 1948

According to a confidential report from the Insular Police dated 2/10/48, Albizu spoke at a Nationalist Party meeting at Fajardo, Puerto Rico, on 2/8/48. This speech was broadcast over the radio, and it was recorded by the Insular Police. Approximately 250 persons attended. Albizu's statements may be summarized as follows:

"The dignity of nations requires their independence. Much blood has been spilled for the independence of the free nations."

"We have here an example of a country (Puerto Rico) that suffers from all sicknesses and hunger. They (the United States) are not satisfied with taking all your riches, but also impose their tax of blood, saying, "I am the owner of your job. I will pay you what I wish; I am the owner of your property, your life, your body, because you are a slave. You will not have sons for yourself because we need your sons to be killed in defending the interests of the Empire.....

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"In two wars they have imposed compulsory military service upon us. Thousands of Puerto Ricans have gone to various European battlefronts to die, not for the flag of their fatherland, but in defense of an Empire occupying the national soil. Compulsory military service does not distinguish between men, women, and children. All can be called in line with the Empire's policy, and they must offer their lives to that monster of Yankee despotism.

"Areas of Naval strength are being constructed in Vieques and Fajardo, in order to attack all the peoples of the earth. Here will be installed the most powerful military weapons so that the Dominicans, the Brazilians, and all our American and European neighbors may be dominated and so that the enemies of the United States will physically destroy all Puerto Ricans.

"Those in Puerto Rico who are under the illusion that the Yankees do well, are qualified for the insane asylum."

Among other things, Albizu, during the above speech condemned the American imperialism that "makes slaves of Puerto Ricans and snatches even new-born babes for military power"; charged the United States with endeavoring to exterminate the Puerto Rican race; blamed the Americans for creating hunger in Puerto Rico and attributed all the diseases which beset Puerto Rico to their insufficient nourishment; pointed out that even the Spaniards, English, and French did not force their colonies to submit to military conscription, but that the Americans proved quite capable of introducing the practice; and, reminded his hearers that General Miles upon landing in Puerto Rico in 1898 promised the Puerto Ricans the benefits of democracy, which turned out to be hunger.

He also warned that the United States was installing in Puerto Rico powerful military apparatus to be used to destroy the Dominican Republic, Brazil, Argentina, and all the Americas and the countries of Europe that are real or pretended enemies of the United States; explained that the so-called "Military Highway" between San Juan and Aguadilla was nothing more than an airplane landing strip, and will be used as such by the Yankees when they so desire; sneered at the Yankee names Buchanan, Losey, and Bundy, used to designate various military establishments on the Island; accused the United States of emulating Hitler in unifying the armed forces; and ended his remarks with a discussion of cowardice and asked, "Where are the MEN of Fajardo? Where are the 'machos' (fearless ones) of Fajardo? Long live the republic!"

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E. UTUADO, February 23, 1948 ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

According to a confidential report from the Insular Police dated March 8, 1948, the Nationalist Party held a meeting at Utuado on February 23, 1948. Approximately 600 persons attended. PEDRO ALBIZU CAIPOS in a one-hour speech attacked the "monster of Yankee imperialism," and made other statements, some of which are quoted below:

"ANGEL MARIO MARTINEZ fell in defense of his fatherland.

"Puerto Rico is a treasury, jealously coveted by the worst pirates in the world (United States). Those pirates want to kill the owner of the treasury, the Puerto Ricans, whose honor it will be to stop that monstrous despot.

"When an insolent Yankee passing in our streets makes a false move, the people themselves should chastise him."

ALBIZU also urged the Puerto Ricans to cut off their right arms before swearing that they are American citizens. ALBIZU alleged that the Vieques maneuvers of the United States Armed forces were for the "amusement" of the Yankees. He counseled the women of Puerto Rico to look with scorn on all foreigners. He stated that the various federal reservations, such as Borinquen Field, Loscy Field, Fort Buchanan, etc., had been seized so that no food could be produced in Puerto Rico. He complained about the Yankee military might in Puerto Rico that humiliates and kicks the fatherland. He criticized Puerto Rico's insular elections and said "fifty years of elections - fifty years of deceptions." He denounced President TRUMAN as a despotic enemy who vetoed the bill to teach in Spanish in Puerto Rican Schools. Albizu told his listeners that they had been given many promises but had received nothing but hunger and disease. He counseled them to pay no taxes to the Insular or Federal Governments, and warned that United States cigarettes cause cancer of the tongue and of the throat and that American coffee is a mixture of aspirin tablets and pulverized coal. He ended his speech as follows: "If we have to die, let us fall on the field of battle, confronting the enemy and our face to the sun."

According to the police report, members of the Nationalist Party had recording equipment at the scene of the speech, and recorded the words of ALBIZU.

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F. ARECIBO, March 15, 1948

According to a confidential police report dated 3/15/48, the Nationalist Party held a meeting in Arecibo on 3/15/48 at the Plazuela Eugenio Sánchez López. Approximately 1700 persons attended. ALBIZU in a speech broadcast over the radio (recording on file, Insular Police Headquarters) made statements which may be summarized as follows:

"Americans are characterized by their lust for gold and blood. They are selfish, hypocritical, cynical. They lynch negroes, steal from their friends, starve the Puerto Ricans, and prostitute Puerto Rican womanhood. They deprive Puerto Rican women of the right to motherhood by sterilizing them at the Maternity Centers which are devoted to the practices of sterilization and abortion. They teach that certain practices to avoid conception are not harmful; but these practices in reality are those of the prostitution profession. The U. S. Government is showing our women how to become prostitutes. Any madam of a house of prostitution can give the same advice that the Puerto Rican woman receives in the Maternity Centers. All this to destroy our nationality. The United States tells us that we shouldn't have been born, but the ones who shouldn't have been born are the Yankees who want to invade Puerto Rico. Our patience has ended. We will establish Action Committees in each community to combat the evils of the Maternity Centers and the American Hospitals that spread cancer and tuberculosis and sterilize our women. The surgeon who sterilizes our women should have his scalpel thrust into his throat.

"The Nationalists will miss no opportunity to destroy any institution of the United States in Puerto Rico, and will persecute the Maternity Centers in Puerto Rico because they diffuse information favoring prostitution.

"Puerto Ricans must get Federal permission to open a radio station, have planes land in, or boats leave from, Puerto Rico. An authority in Washington controls all phases of Puerto Rican life. The United States Secretary of State won't even let distinguished personages such as JUAN MARINELLO visit the shores of Puerto Rico, and treats Puerto Rico as something apart from the United States where Cubans have a right to enter without a United States visa.

"Americans brought tuberculosis to Puerto Rico in 1905 and spread it in the schools. An American scientist brought cancer

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germs to Puerto Rico, injected them into women patients of the Presbyterian Hospital, and killed Puerto Rican mothers in cold blood.

"WINSHIP ordered the Ponce Massacre. It was he who established the Maternity and Child Health Centers in a great plan to eliminate us. All Puerto Rican legislators are slaves. MUÑOZ MARIN and PINERO are the tools of the United States. The tools and slaves should emigrate to the United States so they could live in New York, Philadelphia, Washington, and Baltimore, in the shadows of the statues erected for the men who fought for the freedom of their country. MUÑOZ MARIN is the chief of despotism in Puerto Rico.

"The United States has no right to impose a despotic Immigration, Customs, or Courts system upon Puerto Rico. The Supreme Court of Puerto Rico is an institution to maintain the despotism of the United States in Puerto Rico. Appeals to the Federal Circuit Court of Boston must be in English; they cannot be in Spanish. The masters don't need to understand the slaves, but the slaves must understand their masters.

"The Resident Commissioner of Puerto Rico in Washington cannot vote, and can address the House of Representatives only with the unanimous consent of all members. He is without shame, valor, or patriotism.

"TRUMAN said, "How pretty Tanguito is." Why shouldn't he; he created it."

G. PONCE, March 21, 1948

Ceremonies commemorating the 11th anniversary of the "Ponce Massacre," also known as the "Palm Sunday Massacre," were held by the Nationalist Party at Ponce, Puerto Rico, on March 21, 1948. According to a confidential report of the Insular Police dated March 22, 1948, approximately 250 persons heard the speech of ALBIZU CAMPOS in Ponce's public square. A recording of this speech was made by the Insular Police. Excerpts therefrom appear below -

"Here, anyone who presents himself to serve in a recruiting board should be shot, if necessary. You must speak very clearly to those people.

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"I am glad to tell the truth. But he who wishes to again impose upon the Puerto Ricans the alternative of compulsory military service - serving as instruments of the United States - is an enemy of each and every Puerto Rican.

"We have arrived at the end of our patience, and we must say it once and for all - that crusades and calls to youth must find not only the material and economic cooperation of all the Puerto Ricans, but that each man and woman in Puerto Rico must offer to clutch a rifle, a dagger, or a pistol, to defend the independence of his children. I have already seen in the press that the Rotarians, Lions, and various other institutions offered to cooperate with compulsory military service. The notices were not officially issued by the institutions, but they have not been denied. I wish to say that our patience has ended in connection with enemies of Puerto Rico exercising political, economic, and social authority. All institutions which do not cooperate actively with the independence of Puerto Rico must be dissolved - by force if necessary.

"Those who in public or private schools have the insolence to make Puerto Rican children swear allegiance to the American Flag are the profaners, assassins, and corruptors of justice in Puerto Rico.

"Let us call everyone to order so that no one will walk around with an air of authority over us. Bold and insolent - silent - before the Massacres of Rio Piedras, San Juan, Ponce, Utuado..... Those whose lips do not utter the sacred words, Independence of Puerto Rico.

"This immense multitude applauds my words, is given feeling by these supreme necessities, but this multitude would not merit having human hands if it would not learn to grasp a rifle, a dagger, or a pistol to make good the independence of Puerto Rico."

#### H. Cabo Rojo, April 8, 1948

Ceremonies commemorating the birth of Dr. Ramón Emeterio Betances, Puerto Rican patriot, were held by the Nationalists at Cabo Rojo, Puerto Rico, on April 8, 1948. According to a confidential police report dated April 9, 1948, approximately 500 persons heard ALBIZU's speech on this occasion. Excerpts from this speech are quoted below -

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"We are in the sanctuary of patriotism. Betances asked that his body not be returned to Puerto Rico so long as it remained a slave. But the fatherland, violating his wish, brought his remains into the shadow of a foreign despotism. We are in possession of an immense treasure (referring to the ashes of Betances). You must defend it even with your lives if necessary.

"The Puerto Ricans appear to be insensible to the shadow of foreign despotism. The people should recover the sensibility to inform any power that wishes to reduce us to slavery that he is playing with his own existence. Betances could not tolerate any flag in Puerto Rico except the flag of the solitary star. Those who work for the independence of Puerto Rico with the flag of liberty in the right hand and the flag of lynching in their left, are to be condemned.

"In 1868 Betances took up arms against Spain and established the base of our nationality. In 1868 there was slavery, but at least there was civil liberty. The United States say we are free, and everybody hungry and barefoot. Nor are the rich happy. The rich father has a son he loves, but soon the Congress of the United States (el Congreso de "Jurutungo," - a Puerto Rican word meaning a far-off, unpleasant place) says to send that son to fight so he can be returned dead, crazy, or mutilated. What liberty is there in a country so regimented? Of what value are two million dollars to a mother if her sons are not her sons. The Congress and the President of the United States can order the mobilization of any Puerto Rican youth to be sent away and killed.

"The Selective Service Boards function in Puerto Rico with the cooperation of the traitors of Puerto Rico. What use is it for a mother to have a son if a board of traitors can tear him from her breast, to fight not for the honor of his mother, or his sister, or his fatherland, but against Russia. And what have the Russians done to Puerto Rico? And thus the boy whose father told him he was free goes to the Army. And the boy asks his father, 'Did you not tell me I was free?' But it is not the father to say, it is the Congress of Jurutungo, it is the General of Jurutungo, it is the President of Jurutungo, it is the Board of Traitors of Puerto Rico in the name of Jurutungo."

ALBIZU criticized the growing use of American names for everything from soft drinks to suburbs. He said, "You must be Puerto Rican! We are losing our heads. Slavery does not enter where there is no money. The barefoot Puerto Rican is a free being. But he who makes money is a slave. Money should be used to reaffirm independence. Here money is used to make slaves."

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He complained that the Puerto Rican currency and health were sound prior to the advent of the Americans in 1898; that the Puerto Ricans should rebel as Betances urged them to do in 1898 when he heard that the Americans had landed; that the Americans brought disease, hunger, and slums. He said,

"Russia and the entire world confront the United States. Elements in the United States Government believe in their right to impose their will on all the nations of the world. In the last war the cry was, 'We must do away with Hitler.' Then Stalin was a good friend of Roosevelt. But now Stalin is bad. Now the cry is, 'Death to Stalin, long live Truman.' The first thing to do, of course, is to recruit Puerto Ricans to kill Stalin. Puerto Rico does not have to choose between Russia and the United States. We have to choose between slavery and independence. Achieve it with our lives if necessary. Our independence depends on the balance of international forces. The will of Puerto Rico is the principal factor. If Puerto Ricans do not interrupt their dream they will continue being slaves. An important factor in the international struggle is that the United States is alone. Its so-called democracy has fallen around it. If it goes to war, it will fight alone. They know that they have no friends because they do not merit them. They know that not even the traitors of Puerto Rico will fight for them. They have offered millions to the European nations and they have been told that the loans are not acceptable in the form offered.

"The first reverse indicating that the American Empire is about to fall is the case of Palestine. The United States failed to live up to its agreement and is now trembling, indecisive, while the Russians laugh. The hour draws near when they (the United States) will be destroyed.

"I repeat here what I said in Ponce: if the Yankees insist in maintaining Puerto Rico in a state of slavery, we retain the right to destroy them. Fools say those are the words of Albizu Campos. But remember that a child can decide the fate of an empire. Liberty must be maintained with arms in the hands if it is necessary. Contemporary history is confronted with Yankee despotism. Why do not the Hispanic nations act? Where is the collective action? We are the ones who have to achieve independence.

"Day before yesterday, the voice of the father of the country was heard in Colombia. The Venezuelan delegation, through Mr. Rómulo

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Betancourt, ex-president of that country, announced that he hopes the next conference of the Pan American Union will see Puerto Rico represented by its own plenipotentiaries."

T-4, a reliable informant, advised <sup>50/4</sup> that while at Cabo Rojo on April 8, 1978, Pedro Albizu Campos placed a person to person call to "Miss Mielke." at Watkins 4-4978, New York City, and talked for about two minutes. This call probably had reference to the Nationalists efforts to present Puerto Rico's case before the United Nations in New York. Thelma Mielke is the official observer of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico at the United Nations.

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IV.  
NEW CONSPIRACY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

A. FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

T-5, a reliable informant associated with certain members of the Nationalist Party, advised that ALBI CAMPOS is living at the Hotel Normandie as the guest of its owner, FELIX BENITEZ REXACH, wealthy, anti-American contracting engineer, now working in Ciudad Trujillo, Dominican Republic. (S)(u)

T-6, a reliable and highly confidential source, advised that on December 13, 1947, two days before ALBIZU CAMPOS arrived in Puerto Rico from New York, FELIX BENITEZ REXACH cabled JULIO DE SANTIAGO expressing deep regret at not being able to personally greet the "maestro" upon his return, but that he would be there in spirit. This was in answer to an invitation extended to BENITEZ REXACH by SANTIAGO. (u)

T-6 further advised that on December 15, 1947, an inquiry was made of the manager of the Hotel Normandie, RAFAEL HORTAS, as to whether the hotel had a room for PEDRO ALBIZU CAMPOS. No room was available that day, but HORTAS immediately communicated with BENITEZ REXACH to determine whether the terms of BENITEZ' letter of June 11, 1947 were still in effect. REXACH replied immediately that the letter was still applicable. On the following day, December 16, 1947, ALBIZU moved into Room 423 of the Hotel Normandie, and has been there since that time. On the afternoon of December 15, 1947, RAFAEL HORTAS advised the reporting agent that PEDRO ALBIZU CAMPOS would not be staying at the Hotel Normandie, that the hotel did not want "people like that living there." It is possible HORTAS had not received BENITEZ' instructions at the time he made this statement. (S)(u)

T-5 reported that FELIX BENITEZ REXACH is supposed to have sent \$500 to PEDRO ALBIZU CAMPOS shortly prior to Christmas, 1947. BENITEZ is believed to be one of the principal financial contributors to the Nationalist movement. (S)(u)

The collecting of contributions to defray the expenses of the Nationalist Party goes on continually. It is not known what percentage of the collections go to Albizu Campos for his personal use.

B. REORGANIZATION OF THE LIBERATING ARMY

b7c, b7D [REDACTED] advised on 12/17/47 that a confidential informant told him that PEDRO ALBIZU CAMPOS had ordered the reorganization of the "Liberating Army of the Republic," under "Colonel" RAFAEL DIAZ TACHECO. Previous to that the reporting agent and SA

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Paul J. Burke had observed RAHUNDO DIAZ PACHECO supervising the drilling of about fourteen young men near Río Piedras, Puerto Rico.

T-1, after consulting ISOLINA ROLDON, personal secretary of PEDRO ALBIZU CAPOS, advised that ALBIZU CAPOS wanted only a token force of cadets for the purpose of maintaining order at the Nationalist Party meetings. Albizu's own statement concerning the Cadet Corps, set out previously in this report, was that it was for the purpose of disciplining youth. (S)(N)

At the March 21, 1948, Ponce meeting, a total of 92 uniformed cadets, including "Colonel" RAHUNDO DIAZ PACHECO and four subordinate officers, took part. These cadets were split into two platoons and marched at the head of the procession carrying Nationalist flags. They circled the speakers platform during the afternoon ceremonies at which PEDRO ALBIZU CAPOS and other Nationalist leaders spoke. They forcefully ejected a member of the audience when he created a disturbance. According to [REDACTED] of the Internal Security Squad, Insular Police, the cadets act in the manner of storm troopers, maintaining order and guarding the Nationalist Party president.

[REDACTED] advised that during the time the cadets were marching and taking part in the proceedings, PEDRO ALBIZU CAPOS would issue an oral order to "Lieutenant" ELIFAZ ESCOBAR SERRANO, who carried it immediately to "Colonel" RAHUNDO DIAZ PACHECO, who would, in turn, give the proper command to the cadets, in compliance with ALBIZU's desires.

Three photographs of the Cadet Corps, taken by the Insular Police of Puerto Rico at the Ponce meeting on 3/21/48, and three of the Cabo Rojo meeting on 4/8/48, are attached to the original copy of this report to the Bureau. A photograph of the cadet platoon which took part in the reception ceremonies for PEDRO ALBIZU CAPOS is also attached.

The above meeting was the first time the Cadets had appeared in public in their uniforms since ALBIZU CAPOS' return. However, at the Cabo Rojo meeting on 4/8/48, 27 uniformed cadets, under the command of RAHUNDO DIAZ PACHECO and two lieutenants, one of whom is believed to be ELIFAZ ESCOBAR SERRANO, took part in the ceremonies. This information was contained in a confidential report by the Insular Police dated 4/9/48.

A confidential report from the Insular Police at Mayaguez, Puerto Rico, dated 3/15/48 is to the effect that [REDACTED] observed RAHUNDO DIAZ PACHECO arrive in Mayaguez in a black Chrysler sedan, license number 910 (property of the Nationalist Party) on 3/14/48. According to

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b7c [REDACTED] DIAZ PACINCO spent the entire day at the house of RAFAEL CANOEL, local Nationalist leader, recruiting cadets for the Nationalist Party. He succeeded in signing up nine cadets, according to Paradis.

C. VIOLENCE PLOTTED

~~SECRET~~

T-8, a reliable and highly secret informant, whose identity must be carefully protected, and whose information must not be disseminated, advised that in the latter part of March, 1948, PEDRO ALBIZU CAJOS made statements indicating that he is secretly laying plans for an armed uprising in Puerto Rico; that ALBIZU desires that a simultaneous blow be struck in every city and village in the Island; that only men of the greatest courage, discretion and fidelity to the movement will be used in this undertaking; that members of the Cadet Corps will not be used in the coup because "they have pictures of them and they are well known"; that every man chosen to take part in the conspiracy will have to be trained to box, use judo, sticks, hammers, and knives, as well as guns; that some men will die but "where everyone wants to survive, none does"; that if they are well organized they will not fail; and that the man in charge of this proposed action is RUFINO ROLON (Secretary, Rio Piedras Municipal Board of the Nationalist Party). (S)(U)

T-9, an absolutely reliable informant, advised that RUFINO ROLON and several other men were seen on one occasion during April 1948 engaging in target practice with small arms in the vicinity of Vega Alta, Puerto Rico. This phase of the investigation is receiving close and continuous attention. (S)(U)

ENCLOSURES: Three photographs of the "Cadets of the Liberating Army," at Ponce, Puerto Rico, on 3/21/48, enclosed with the original report to the Bureau. There are also attached three photos of the Cabo Rojo meeting 4/8/48, and a copy of a photo of the cadets who took part in the reception ceremonies.

PENDING

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LEADS

1 16088

THE SAN JUAN DIVISION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

AT SAN JUAN, PUERTO RICO

Will continue to follow and currently report activities of PEDRO ALBIZU CAMPOS and other individuals identified with the conspiracy described in this report.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

106069

INFORMANTS

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

T-1 - [REDACTED]

T-2 - [REDACTED]

T-3 - [REDACTED]

T-4 - [REDACTED]

T-5 - [REDACTED]

T-6 - [REDACTED]

T-7 - [REDACTED]

T-8 - [REDACTED]

T-9 - [REDACTED]

b2  
b7C  
b7D

(X) (U)

Symbol numbers were used in the above instances at the request of the source, or to further protect his identity.

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SPECIAL AGENT: JACK WEST

DATE: 5-4-48

CHARACTER OF CASE: OVERTHROW OR DE-  
STRUCTION OF GOV-  
ERNMENT; CONSPIRACY

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

May 14, 1948

CLASSIFIED  
BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

DECLASSIFIED BY 6083  
ON 2-17-77

The Honorable  
The Secretary of the Interior  
Department of Interior  
Washington, D. C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

Attention: [REDACTED]

My dear Mr. Secretary:

RE: PEDRO ALBIZU CASPOS  
OVERTHROW OR DESTRUCTION OF GOVERNMENT;  
CONSPIRACY

I am sending you attached one copy of the report of Assistant  
Special Agent in Charge Jack West dated May 4, 1948, at San Juan, P. R.,  
in the above captioned case.

It is for your confidential use and as you will note, the con-  
tents thereof are not intended for dissemination outside your department.

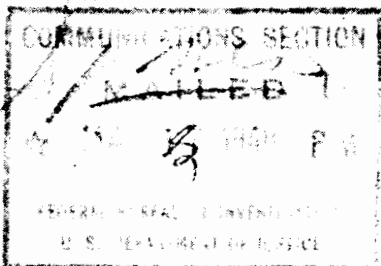
Sincerely yours,

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF [REDACTED]  
DATE 3-3-79

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

Enclosure

APC:ofm



Tolson  
A. Tamm  
Ladd  
Nichols  
Belmont  
Clegg  
Glavin  
Harbo  
Rosen  
Tracy  
Mohr  
Tele. Rm.  
Holloman  
Nease  
Gandy

RECORDED - 75  
EX-15  
105-11816-195  
42 MAY 18 1948

Office M.

U • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

DATE: 5/24/48

FROM ~~ASAC~~ SAC, San Juan

SUBJECT: PEDRO ALBIZU CAMPOS  
OVERTHROW OR DESTRUCTION OF GOVERNMENT  
CONSPIRACY

Enclosed is an additional copy of the report of ASAC JACK WEST dated 5/4/48, as requested in Bureau memo of 5/18/48.

ACS:GEH  
3-1  
Encl-1

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

TERMS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/22/81 BY SP4 JPM/PTJ/20  
6-23-86 SP-1 AG/PLS C4260006

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**Abstract**



UNITED STATES  
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR  
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY  
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

Mr. Tolson	.....
Mr. E. A. Tamm	.....
Mr. Clegg	.....
Mr. Glavin	.....
Mr. Ladd	.....
Mr. Nichols	.....
Mr. Rosen	.....
Mr. Tracy	.....
Mr. Egan	.....
Mr. Gurnea	.....
Mr. Harbo	.....
Mr. Mohr	.....
Mr. Pennington	.....
Mr. Quinn Tamm	.....
Mr. Nease	.....
Miss Gandy	.....

MAY 26 1948

Personal and Confidential

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 4-19-00 BY SP4 BSA-MLB

My dear Mr. Hoover:

In my recent letter acknowledging various communications from you regarding the situation in Puerto Rico, I believe your letter of May 14, 1946, concerning Pedro Albizu Campos was not included. Thank you very much for the information submitted on this subject.

Sincerely yours,

*J. H. Tamm*  
Secretary of the Interior.

Hon. J. Edgar Hoover, Director,  
Federal Bureau of Investigation.

RECORDED - 41

105-11160-197

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For. 1891, M. W

Aug 6 1948 3648 np

The following is the record of FBI number 4938070

J. E. Hoover  
Director.

CONTRIBUTOR OF FINGERPRINTS	NAME AND NUMBER	ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	CHARGE	DISPOSITION
USP, Atlanta, Ga.	<p>① ②</p> <p>Pedro Albizu Campos #51298</p>	6-8-37	consp., Sedition and inciting insurrection	<p>1-1</p> <p>6-4-37, sent. 6 years, disch. by expiration of sent. 6-3-43.</p>
<p>ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/22/81 BY 2842 PMV/STJ/RLC 6/28/86 SP7 AB/RLW c4264006</p> <p>G. I. R. - 8</p> <p>62 Fili 1002-7721 cc - San Juan 9-7-88 J.H.</p> <p>105-11818-1</p> <p>102-7721</p> <p>NOT RECORDED 34 SEP 9 1948</p> <p>50 SEP 14 1948</p>				

\* Represents notations unsupported by fingerprints in FBI files.

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Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Department of Justice  
Washington, D. C.

The following is the record of FBI number 4262070

J. E. Hoover

Director.

CONTRIBUTOR OF FINGERPRINTS	NAME AND NUMBER	ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	CHARGE	DISPOSITION
	As Pedro Albizu Campos, San Juan, P.R., 1932, inciting riot; acquitted.			

\* Represents notations unsupported by fingerprints in FBI files.

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**Federal Bureau of Investigation**  
**United States Department of Justice**  
**Washington, D. C.**

3

The following is the record of FBI number

4 232 670

J. E. Hoover

Director.

CONTRIBUTOR OF FINGERPRINTS	NAME AND NUMBER	ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	CHARGE	DISPOSITION																
	<p>The following is the description of this individual appearing on print #51298, USP, Atlanta, Ga:</p> <p>Color, white; sex, male; date of birth, 9-20-91; occupation, lawyer; birthplace, Puerto Rico; complexion, lt. choc.; height, 5 feet 8 inches; eyes, dark brown; weight, 140 pounds; hair, black, SG and SB; build, medium; scars and marks, irreg. cut scar and sur. scar center forehead, sur. scar 3rd jt. R ring outer.</p> <p>The following is the fingerprint classification of the above subject:</p> <table> <tr> <td>17</td> <td>15</td> <td>R</td> <td>OII</td> <td>Ref.</td> <td>31</td> <td>15</td> <td>31</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>29</td> <td>R</td> <td>OIQ</td> <td>16</td> <td></td> <td>29</td> <td>31</td> </tr> </table> <p>A photograph of the above subject is available in the files of the Bureau.</p> <p>This individual may be identical with Bureau file #62-7721.</p>				17	15	R	OII	Ref.	31	15	31		29	R	OIQ	16		29	31
17	15	R	OII	Ref.	31	15	31													
	29	R	OIQ	16		29	31													

\* Represents notations unsupported by fingerprints in FBI files.

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XXXXXX  
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
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Section 552Section 552a☒ (b)(1)☐ (b)(7)(A)☐ (d)(5)☐ (b)(2)☐ (b)(7)(B)☐ (j)(2)☐ (b)(3)☐ (b)(7)(C)☐ (k)(1)☐ (b)(7)(D)☐ (k)(2)☐ (b)(7)(E)☐ (k)(3)☐ (b)(7)(F)☐ (k)(4)☐ (b)(4)☐ (b)(8)☐ (k)(5)☐ (b)(5)☐ (b)(9)☐ (k)(6)☐ (b)(6)☐ (k)(7)

- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to the subject of your request or the subject of your request is listed in the title only.
- ☐ Documents originated with another Government agency(ies). These documents were referred to that agency(ies) for review and direct response to you.

Pages contain information furnished by another Government agency(ies). You will be advised by the FBI as to the releasability of this information following our consultation with the other agency(ies).

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- ☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

105-11898-198

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XXXXXX

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

DATE: 4/6/49

FROM : *AS* SAC, San JuanSUBJECT: Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico  
Internal Security - N  
Key Figure List~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ 7-1

Re San Juan letter, 1/4/49.

There are transmitted herewith a photograph and handwriting specimens of PEDRO ALBIZU CAMPOS, President and top functionary of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico, received from [REDACTED] who reported that the handwriting, in ink, appearing on these two specimens, is that of PEDRO ALBIZU CAMPOS. *(X)* b2, b7D

If it is requested that if photographic copies are made for Bureau files these documents be returned to this office.

JW:GEH  
105-434  
cc-3-1  
Enclosures - 3  
Registered

*5/22/81*  
CLASS. & EXT. BY *2842 RmV/RSJ/2U*  
REASON-FCIM II 1-2.4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW *5/22/91*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

DECLASSIFIED BY *SP-1 AG/2U*  
ON *6/23/86*

*04264006*

RECORDED - 103

INDEXED - 109

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

57 APR 12 1949

G.I.R.-7

105-1181-198X

EX-131

*Let's go  
(without and...)*

~~CLASSIFIED INFORMATION ENCLOSED~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 6/23/86 BY SP-1 AG/RO  
6264006

ENCLOSURE

105-11898-1981







Lcdo. Pedro Albizu Campos

DE Rosa Collazo  
173 Brook Avenue  
Bronx, New York



AIR MAIL  
CENTRAL  
STATION

*A/c de Cervoni - con mego al que  
escrito a la Srta. fijando las condiciones  
para la enseñanza -*

Dr. Pedro Alvizu Campos  
Apartado 2762  
San Juan, Puerto Rico

*AIR MAIL*

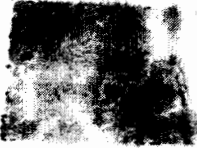
105-11878-110A



~~CLASSIFIED INFORMATION ENCLOSED~~

105-11898-198x

~~62-1127-154~~



Enclosures to Bureau  
Re: Nationalist Party of P. R.  
Internal Security - N  
Key Figure List  
San Juan letter of 4/6/49

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

# All America Cables and Radio

THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM

QUESE CON UNA "X" LA  
SE DE SERVICIO DESEADO

NARIO A A INTEGRA	ORDINARIO EN CLAVE (CDE)	
NTE	URGENTE EN CLAVE (CDE)	
RIDO	CARTA TELEGRAMA NOCTURNA	

INDICACION AL CONTRARIO  
E MENSAJE SE TRANSMITIRA  
OMO MENSAJE ORDINARIO

Commercial  
Cables



M.

R.

All America  
Cables and Radio

NO.

M M

HORA

PALABRAS

TASA

JOHN L. MERRILL  
SIDENTE DE LA JUNTA DIRECTIVA

FRANK W. PHELAN  
PRESIDENTE

USE TRANSMITIR EL SIGUIENTE TELEGRAMA, DE CONFORMIDAD CON LAS REGLAS Y REGLAMENTO DE LOS SERVICIOS DE LA ALL AMERICA  
CABLES AND RADIO, INC., EXPUESTOS EN SU LIBRO DE TARIFAS Y DEPOSITADOS EN LA COMISION FEDERAL DE COMUNICACIONES.

Excelentísimo Señor  
Rómulo Gallegos  
Presidente Venezuela  
Caracas

CLASS. & EXT. BY 5122/81  
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2 2  
DATE OF REVIEW 5/22/91

DECLASSIFIED BY SP-1 AG/RV  
ON 6/23/86  
00264006

Memorandum Libertador de Puerto Rico  
hace votos triunfo glorioso de nuestras  
aspiraciones patrióticas.

Pedro Albizu Campos, Presidente Partido Nacionalista

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

EL REMITENTE

Domicilio

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

# CONFIDENTIAL

## A. America Cables and Radio, Inc.

**SAN JUAN**  
Degetau Esq Tetuan

San Juan  
282-283

**PONCE**  
Comercio Esq Mayor

**TELEFONOS**  
Ponce  
70-71

**MAYAGUEZ**  
Union Esq Aduana

Playa Mayaguez  
276

### OFICINAS PRINCIPALES:

**ARGENTINA**  
Buenos Aires  
Mendoza  
Rosario

**ARUBA**  
Oranjestad

**BOLIVIA**  
Corocoto  
La Paz  
Oruro

**BRASIL**  
Rio de Janeiro  
Santos  
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Guantánamo  
Habana  
Santiago de Cuba

**CURAZAO**  
Willemstad

**ECUADOR**  
Esmeraldas  
Guayaquil  
Salinas

**ESTADOS UNIDOS**  
**DEL NORTE**  
Nueva York  
67 Broad Street  
(Oficina Principal)

**GUATEMALA**  
Ciudad de Guatemala  
San José

**HAITI**  
Cap Haitien  
Port-au-Prince

**ISLAS VIRGENES**  
Charlotte Amalie (St. Thomas)

**MEXICO**  
Salina Cruz

**NICARAGUA**  
Managua  
San Juan del Sur

**PANAMA**  
Balboa  
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**PERU**  
Callao  
Lima  
Paita  
Piura  
Tacna  
Trujillo

**PUERTO RICO**  
Mayagüez  
Ponce  
San Juan

**REPUBLICA DOMINICANA**  
Ciudad Trujillo  
La Vega  
Puerto Plata  
San Pedro de Macoris  
Santiago de los Caballeros

**SALVADOR, (El)**  
San Salvador

**URUGUAY**  
Montevideo

**VENEZUELA**  
Caracas  
La Guaira  
Maracaibo  
Vela de Coro

### CLASES DE SERVICIO

#### SERVICIO A TARIFA INTEGRA

Los telegramas depositados con esta clasificación reciben servicio rápido desde principio a fin. Permítese el lenguaje en clave.

#### SERVICIO A TARIFA DE CLAVE (CDE)

En esta categoría, las palabras no deben tener más de cinco letras. Los grupos de cifras y las marcas comerciales compuestas de cifras y letras no deben exceder del cincuenta por ciento del número total de palabras en el texto y la firma. Se cobra como mínimo cinco palabras.

#### SERVICIO DIFERIDO (LC)

Los telegramas diferidos quedan sujetos a ser diferidos en favor de los telegramas a tarifa íntegra, pero no más de 24 horas. Tales telegramas deben ser redactados en lenguaje claro y en un solo idioma. Los grupos de cifras no deben exceder de la tercera parte del texto. Cóbrase un mínimo de cinco palabras o de doce palabras, según el país de destino.

#### SERVICIO DE CARTAS TELEGRAFICAS NOCTURNAS (NLT)

Este es un servicio ideado especialmente para telegramas comerciales o sociales, redactados únicamente en alguno de los idiomas ordinarios admitidos en los telegramas a tarifa íntegra. Cóbrase un mínimo de 25 palabras. Estos telegramas serán entregados al día siguiente de haber sido depositados.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ALL AMERICA CABLES and RADIO, INC.

FRANK W. PHELAN, Presidente.

33394

ACS:ACO

PEDRO ALBIZU CAMPOS,  
OVERTHROW OR DESTRUCTION OF GOVERNMENT;  
CONSPIRACY  
Bureau File 100-42493  
San Juan File 3-1

Comments:

Review of file discloses that the only report in this file was submitted 5-4-48. It was not a summary report in the form prescribed for top functionary cases. ALBIZU is regarded as a top functionary. Although the case is active, pending reports were not submitted at 45-day intervals. The case has been assigned to ASAC Jack West since April 1, 1948.

ASAC Jack West:

The delay in reporting is regretted and will be rectified by the submission immediately of a report covering the above period. Future reports will be submitted promptly at intervals of 45 days. "Internal Security, R" will be added to the caption of the next report and information will be set out in accordance with the prescribed form.

SAC Schlenker:

Appropriate supervision will be exercised to see that cases of this kind are maintained in a current status.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/22/81 BY 2842 PMV/PTJ/RW

6/23/86 88-1 AG/PU 264026

100-42493 ✓  
[Signature]

7-13-49

DIRECTOR, FBI

PEDRO ALBIZU CAMPOS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - N

As the above-named subject is a top functionary in your office you should submit a summary report setting forth by witnesses all of the legal admissible evidence appearing in your files which tends to prove his membership in and affiliation with the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico and his knowledge of the revolutionary aims and purposes of that group.

This report should be submitted so as to reach the Bureau no later than August 20, 1949.

62-7721

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 01-11-2001 BY 60322 UCBAW

DATE 5/22/51 BY 2842 PMV/BJ  
6/23/86 9-1 AB/RS CH 264006

TEL : wma

RECORDED - 91

199

FBI  
45 JUL 18 1949

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XXXXXX  
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
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